HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Special issue

UKRAINIAN PHILOLOGY

AND LINGUISTICS

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UKRAINIAN PHILOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

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Foreword

Contemporary Perspectives on Ukrainian Philology and Linguistics

This double number of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* is a milestone in the nearly two-decade-long history of the journal, the first such issue devoted exclusively to Ukrainian philology and linguistics broadly conceived.

The articles gathered here present a spectrum of current American thinking on the language, linguistic history, and philological culture of Rus′ and Ukraine from the eleventh century to the present day. Apart from the ubiquitous Rusian or Ukrainian thematic reference, the broad range of subject matter, distinct traditions, and different analytical models represented in the individual contributions appear to militate against cogent and nontrivial generalization. Nonetheless, closer consideration reveals a number of recurrent methodological and analytical issues concerning categorization (polarity versus gradience), context, authority, intention, and valuation (including historiography) that merit comparison. Received opinion is challenged in paper after paper, from the very title of the *Primary Chronicle* in the first (Повѣсть временьнъıхъ лѣтъ or Повѣсть временъ и лѣтъ?), to the typology of Modern Ukrainian nominal declension in the last.

The contributions are arranged chronologically and topically into four groups: (1) the language of the *Primary Chronicle* (Horace Lunt, Dean Worth), (2) the language and rhetoric of early modern Ruthenian religious culture (Harvey Goldblatt, David Frick), (3) Potebnja and language (Boris Gasparov, George Shevelov, Henrik Birnbaum), and (4) the Ukrainian language in diachronic and synchronic perspective (Christina Bethin, Michael Flier, Henning Andersen).

There could be no more appropriate object of study to begin the collection than the *Primary Chronicle,* our principal source for the history and culture of Kievan Rus′. Horace Lunt and Dean Worth approach the material from complementary perspectives. Lunt addresses the abstract and highly contentious problem of the "text," that is, the presumed protograph reconstructed from extant but considerably younger witnesses. Reviewing issues of form and content, the authority of later copies, scribal accuracy, the inclination of successive scribes to edit the text for stylistic effect (including modernizing or archaizing) or clearer expression, the introduction of regional variation, and the function of Slavonic and East Slavic doublets, he charts a methodological approach for future reconstruction that indicates the errors or negligence of previous scholarship and makes a firm demarcation between what can be established with certainty and what must remain tentative, ambiguous, or unresolvable. Worth elects to study the evolved variant itself in his analysis of the grammatical and

pragmatic behavior of a single syntactic construction, the dative absolute, in the first part of the Hypatian Copy (ca. 1425). He demonstrates that the fundamental properties of this construction in this particular text are not at all identical with those of Old Church Slavonic and proposes a pragmatically based gradient of narrative advancement, in which grammatical and discourse factors are shown to affect the ultimate realization of the dative absolute construction.

In the Ruthenian sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rhetoric is the handmaiden of religious reform and reaction. Goldblatt focuses on the thematics and rhetoric of Vyšens'kyj's *Epistle to the Renegade Bishops* to clarify the relationship (collateral rather than lineal) between that work and an alleged abbreviated version with similar anti-Uniate concerns. He continues with a detailed analysis of the structural and thematic organization of the *Epistle*, including commentary on the specific circumstances that provoked this response at the end of the sixteenth century. Frick examines the lines of authority in the establishment of a Ruthenian lexicon for sacred philology, noting how the rhetorical arsenal of praise and blame could be utilized by all sides to gain support for one particular perspective and undermine the opposition.

Oleksandr Potebnja, the father of modern Ukrainian philology and linguistics, is himself the subject of three very different studies on his attitudes towards language as reflected in his thought, his own usage, and his linguistic analysis. Boris Gasparov demonstrates how Potebnja's view of language synthesizes seemingly irreconcilable characteristics of Romanticism and Positivism by contextualizing static and dynamic aspects of word and sentence creation. Potebnja's practical views on language creativity are examined by George Shevelov in the context of translation polemics. Shevelov juxtaposes two relatively contemporaneous translations of the *Odyssey*, one by Peter Niščyns'kyj and a "reply in kind" by Potebnja, and shows how Potebnja's choices, as opposed to Niščyns'kyj's, helped to elevate the status of literary Ukrainian. Henrik Birnbaum offers a brief sketch of Potebnja as a linguist, emphasizing his Romantic-idealist lineage and his focus on the evolution of syntactic patterning in East Slavic.

The three linguistic contributions are concerned with diverse aspects of the history and structure of Ukrainian, but all make use of structuralist description to reach new conclusions about the material at hand. Christina Bethin applies metrical phonology and a theory of syllable structure to account for the distinct development of sequences of consonant-liquid-jer-consonant (symbolically TRЪT) in Ukrainian and Belarusian as opposed to Russian, cf. U *kryvavyj,* Br *kryvavy*, R *krovavyj*. Michael Flier suggests that the consequences of alternative phonological interpretation and change represented in two phonological isoglosses are responsible for three morphological isoglosses in Southwest and Western Ukrainian dialects, traditionally viewed in isolation (genitive plural in third-declension nouns, vowel anaptyxis in final sonorant clusters, and velar infinitive innovation). Henning Andersen proposes a reanalysis of the traditional nominal

system from four declensions to three plus the plural, in accordance with generalizations based on phonological and morphological conditioning.

On behalf of the Editorial Board, I wish to extend our gratitude to all the contributors for their participation. We trust that the articles contained in this special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* will help to stimulate further discussion and new research in all areas of Ukrainian philology and linguistics.

Michael S. Flier

Lexical Variation in the Copies of the Rus′ *Primary Chronicle*: Some Methodological Problems

HORACE G. LUNT

The *Primary Chronicle* or "Повѣсть временъ и лѣтъ," as one of the earliest East Slavic original works, is a major source of data on the history of the East Slavic languages. Yet discussion of many topics, in particular the vocabulary, is often clouded by conflicting assumptions as to what materials are pertinent and precisely how they are to be treated. In order to separate out a number of problems, we must first be clear just what we mean by the PVL or *Primary Chronicle*.

During most of this century, the terms refer to the five manuscripts that contain the PVL heading.[1] Particular attention is paid to the oldest copy, the Laurentian manuscript of 1377 (hereafter L), supplemented by the Radziwiłł (R) and Academy (A) copies of c1500, but great importance is attached also to the second-oldest copy, the Hypatian manuscript of c1425 (H), supplemented by the much younger Xlebnikov copy of c1575 (X).[2] The numerous differences among copies, ranging from orthographic minutiae to important stretches of text, have long since been classified to show that when the two oldest copies disagree (L≠H), L generally goes with R and A, while H usually agrees with X: (L(RA))(H(X)).[3]

Much of the variation is minor and can be disregarded; for many purposes, we can speak of the PVL as a text in the same sense one speaks of the Gospel of Mark (or the Gospel according to Saint Mark). There are questions about the antiquity or original status of certain phrases[4] (compare Mark 1:1: does it define Jesus Christ as *the son of God* or not?) and whole passages[5] (does Mark end at 16:8, and if not, is the "short" one-verse or "long" twelve-verse ending to be accepted?), as well as many dilemmas about individual words[6] (did the crowd in Mk 15:8 *appear* or *shout*?).

In view of the ubiquitous differences, what are we to consider *the* text? Much of the scholarly literature, even some very specialized studies, operates with the tacit assumption that L *is* the PVL, other evidence being of subordinate value. In fact, L is often obviously faulty[7] and editors and interpreters rely on the other witnesses, preferably H. Nonetheless, virtually all studies of the PVL for the past eight decades take the PVL to be—unless otherwise specified—the Laurentian text into the year 1110 (excluding 240.23–256.23, the "works of Volodimer Monomax"), plus the Hypatian text from that point in 1110 through 1117. Since L lacks a number of folios and some individual passages, R becomes by default the definitive witness—for the simple reason that it is the text that is found in *PSRL* 1:28.14–43.10. Thus, Tvorogov's summary word-list of the PVL (1984) has three parts, L (22–162), R (163–172, for words from 28.14–43.10), and H (183–210, for words from *PSRL* 2). This ignores a second traditional assump-

tion, viz. that it is comparison of all five witnesses that makes it possible to reconstruct the original PVL (at least in large part), whereby evidence from H, X, R, and A may be favored (in approximately that order) over that of L.[8] Therefore Barbara Gröber is right to include all five in her 1977–86 listing (though she does not always specify which item occurs in which source or sources).[9] She points the way to the total material that must be evaluated in order to see what sort of preliminary problems need solving.[10]

Given contrasting words, how can we decide which is original? Are there definite rules for substitution? The contrasts ordinarily can be viewed as *usual* vs. *unusual,* whereby one is *specific, regional, archaic,* or perhaps *unfamiliar,* even *incorrect.* Scribes surely made their decisions on the basis of *appropriateness*: does *this* word fit in *this* sentence? If not, it should be changed. To what extent can modern scholars recreate the attitude of individual copyists?[11]

Let us look at a passage where lexical variation is attested.

A reader of the entry for 1074 in the *Primary Chronicle* learns that Isaakij, a monk of the Caves Monastery, would brave the bitter cold of winter, standing through matins on the cold stone в прабошняˣ в черевьяˣ в протоптаныˣ (L 195.15), and his feet would freeze to the stone.[12] The reader might well look for прабош- in Sreznevskij's *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka,* and will find "прабошьнь" defined as 'башмак' and illustrated by the 1074 passage that is defined as taken from the entry for 6282 in the Пов[есть] вр[еменных] л[ет], and a very similar sentence from the Пат[ерик] печ[ерский]. It also says that the Radziwiłł copy of the PVL has въ оутьлыˣ ботеˣ, and provides a cross-reference to "поръшьнь". Sub ботъ, Sreznevskij's definition is 'башмак, черевик; bota', and the Radziwiłł sentence is given in full.[13] Sub поръшьнь the definition is longer—'a *bašmak* fashioned (гнутый) from a single piece of leather'—the familiar passage slightly different (в поръшьняхъ въ протоптаныхъ), but parenthetically juxtaposed to the six words as cited above from L, while the source is the Nikon copy (Nik) of the PVL. It appears, then, that the PVL has three words that denote different sorts of slippers, all occurring in a single context. But where R has one syntagm, Nik has two, and L three. More recent lexicographers disagree on just which words to attribute to the PVL.[14] In Tvorogov's word list (1984) one finds only "[прабошня]" (with brackets indicating that the nominative is hypothetical), while L'vov's ambitious 1977 book about the lexicon of the PVL treats only "прабошьню".[15] Gröber includes both "боти" and "прабошьнь".

The most important variable for language historians is the well-known fact that any manuscript is a product of its age. For every detail, the question must be asked: does this belong to the original text (of 1117 or earlier), or to the latest scribe (e.g., 1377, c1425), or to an intermediate copyist? On the whole, agreement of L and H points to the old language. L tends to reflect antiquity of phonology and morphology better, while H (according to my working hypothesis) is more reliable for text.[16] Such general tendencies, however, do not apply to all individual cases; every item must be examined separately. We must start

with the maximal evidence and cautiously seek to distinguish older items by ascertaining changes and innovations.[17]

Let us examine the whole sentence about Isaakij's fortitude in the PVL variants and also later versions of the passage, the *Patericon* (in a late sixteenth-century copy of the redaction of 1462), in the Nikon chronicle (c1560) and in contemporary Russian and Ukrainian.[18]

Lav 195.15–17 (1074)
егда же приспѣꙗше зима и мрази лютии станѧше
в прабошнѧх в черевьꙗх в протоптаных ꙗко примерзнѧшета нозѣ его
г камени и не движаше ногама дондеже ѿпоꙗху заутреню

Hyp
егда же приспѣꙗше зима и мрази лютии и стоꙗше
в прабошнѧхъ в черевьихъ и в протоптаных ꙗко примѣрьзнѧше нози его
кь камени и не двигнѧше ногама дондеже ѿпоꙗху заутренюю

Xleb
егда же приспѣꙗше зима и мрази лютии стоꙗше
в прабошнѧх въ чрьвьих въ протоптаных ꙗко примрьзнѧше нозѣ его
къ камени и не двигнѧше ногама дондеже ѿпоѧху заутреню

Radz, Akad
егда же приспеꙗше зима и мрази лютии и стоꙗше
въ утлых ботех ꙗко примерзнути ногама
к камени и не двигнѧше сѧ ногама дондеже отпоꙗху утренюю

Caves Patericon (Abramovyč 1930, 187)
егда же приспѣваше зима и мрази лютыи то стоаше
въ плесницах раздраных ꙗко многажды примерзаху нозѣ его
къ камени и не подвизаше ногами дондеже ѿпоаху утренюу

Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL* 10, 106
егда же приспѣаше зима и мразіи лютыи стоѧше
въ порьшьняхъ в протоптаныхъ и ꙗко примрьзааше нозѣ его
къ камени и не движаше ногама дондеже ѿпоаху заутренюю

Lixačev (Romanov) 1950 331
Когда же приспевала зима и морозы лютые, стоял
в башмаках с протоптанными подошвами, так что примерзали ноги
к каменному полу, и не двигал ногами, пока не отпоют заутреню.

Maxnovec' 1989 118
Коли ж приспівала зима і морози люті, то стояв він
у пробоснях, у черевиках у протоптаних, так що примерзали ноги його
до каменя, і не двигав ногами, допоки [не] одспівають заутреню.

Close examination reveals many little discrepancies among the first six texts, but except for the first part of the second line, the variations will not trouble a translator; the overall *message* remains the same. The disagreements we interpret in terms of orthography and phonology, of morphology and syntax, and of phraseology and vocabulary in this little sample are typical of the sort of disparities to be found in the study of copies of any text. We may safely assume that a scribe making a new copy of an extant work intended to reproduce the message provided by the model. He could modify spelling and minor grammatical details in accordance with what he believed was correct, and introduce small shifts of linguistic expression for clarification. Faced with obvious errors, obscurities, or items he found inappropriate, he would attempt to set things right by changing a word, phrase, or sentence.[19] Modern scholars must decide which variations are minor and attributable to the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes, and which we believe reflect purposeful decisions made by editors. Editorial decisions may well include change of text, that is to say revisions that affect not only language and style, but may well include major or minor changes in message.[20]

How are we to classify the lexemes in the second line of the sample text?

The phrase въ прабошняхъ is unique to this passage, which (with the rest of the PVL entry for 1074) was incorporated into the Caves Monastery's *Patericon* (hereafter Pat).[21] The second term in L, if we take the ending seriously, is an indefinite adjective derived from черево in the special sense 'hide from (an animal's) belly', while H в черевьихъ and X в чръвьи^X may represent the noun черевье (OCS чрѣвиє) 'footwear, shoe'.[22] The participle протопътанъ 'worn out' is unproblematical. L then has $noun + adj^1 + adj^2$. Yet, as has been repeatedly noted (cf. L'vov 87–88), the latter elements appear to be a gloss defining the first ($noun^1$ *defined by* $noun^2 + adj$).[23] The editors of Pat replaced the whole phrase with в плесницах раздраных, using a rare noun meaning 'sandal, slipper' (cf. OCS плесньць) and a less specific adjective.[24] The Nikon chronicle chose an apparently native word for a simple (and perhaps flimsy) kind of footwear, very likely originally *пършьнь,[25] while retaining the adjective. The RA tradition chose to substitute въ утлы^X боте^X, using an adjective meaning 'leaky, with cracks or holes' that usually was used for vessels,[26] and a new noun, бот: the first attestation of the up-to-date loan from the west, a borrowing from French *botte* (or Late Latin *botta*) that was known in 14th-c. Czech, and from 1415 in Polish.[27]

What about the sense of the passage? If Isaakij had almost anything covering his feet, it is unlikely that they could have frozen to the stone. Vaillant suggested that въ прабошняхъ was a fixed adverbial unit, an idiom meaning 'with bare feet' (1974 604); surely he is right.[28] The precise meaning was obviously unknown to early copyists, and the "въ" seemed to point to some sort of foot-covering.[29] The context forbids proper shoes, so a primitive kind of footwear was posited and added as an explanatory gloss, which later needed to be updated.

The gloss obliges lexicographers to include adjectival черевьи (for L) and the noun черевье (for H). Gröber indeed has two entries, черевии and *черевия,[30] but she wrongly attributes the -ьяхъ (which she incorrectly assigns to RA as well as L) to the noun, and imprudently opines that only an adjectival form can be correct here. Now, we must insist that the difference in form signals a difference in meaning and therefore a difference, however minor, of text. We must deal with this troublesome detail; I have indicated my view above, namely that the original had only въпрабошняхъ, a very early revision added a gloss (noun + adj.), a later stage modified a single letter ("я" [that is, "ꙗ" or "ѧ"]).[31] In terms of *message,* I suggest that there were two stages: originally, Isaakij would stand *in bare feet*; this was reinterpreted to state *inadequately shod.* The precise wording of this revised message differs in the six medieval versions I have cited.

Consider this part of the message in the two modern versions. Maxnovec′ has kept closely to the attested wording of H (the basis of his translation), apparently inventing a new noun пробосни, carefully explaining in a note that it means a light slipper worn on bare feet. Lixačev and his collaborator, B. A. Romanov, specify (redundantly?) that it was the soles of the slippers that were worn out.[32]

In what way are the two modern versions different from the pre-1600 alternatives?

Primarily, I submit, in intent. Maxnovec′ and Lixačev-Romanov are self-consciously rewriting the sentence (and the whole text) in Contemporary Standard Ukrainian or Russian, systems they consider different from the old language of the manuscripts; they explicitly label their work *translation*—переклад, перевод. They have in mind a specific ancient wording that they are interpreting for modern readers.

The scribes of 1377 to the 1550s, as I suggested above, likewise intended to set down the message anew—the message as each scribe understood it and deemed appropriate to transmit. There is, to be sure, ample evidence that many scribes agreed that their duty was to reproduce the model before them; some did so carefully and accurately, so that the difference between copies is insignificant. But many (indeed probably most) scribes were inattentive and sloppy, and they made all sorts of mechanical errors (incorrect letters, omissions or repetitions of syllables or words, metatheses). Alert and intelligent copyists would attempt to repair errors; indifferent scribes could make a poor text worse. The intent to correct the text means that a scribe could act as a copyeditor, clarifying the message by using different forms or words eliminating out-of-date or too foreign elements. The aim was not *translation*, a contrast of a new medium to the old medium, but improvement, clarification.

We see the changes as a gradual modernization of some elements, even though certain pervasive archaic features, such as the simple preterites, are retained. In order to classify the details in a plausible historical sequence, we need to establish regional and temporal categories.

The hypothetical original text is assumed to exemplify the common East Slavic written language that may be called Rusian. The language of the actual copies is not so easily characterized. By 1377, the spoken East Slavic dialects surely contrasted a (north-)eastern type, Early Russian, to a (south-)western zone of Early Ukrainian, but the conservative written language generally avoided distinctively regional features. It is possible, however, to discern complexes of orthographical, morphological, syntactical and lexical details that allow a distinction between Early Russian on the one hand and "Ruthenian"—conventionally known as "West Russian" in Russian scholarly tradition—on the other. After 1400 the contrasts rapidly become more visible, and copies of older texts are more markedly Muscovite versus Western, the latter (i.e. Ruthenian) being ever more identifiably Ukrainian or Belorussian. The Laurentian copy belongs to the Russian tradition; the Radziwiłł, Academy, and Xlebnikov copies are clearly from the West; the Hypatian appears to be a northern (Russian) copy of a model written in the Ruthenian tradition. The PVL text is unquestionably part of the heritage of all East Slavs. Innovative details of specific copies, however, may belong rather to Ukrainian and/or Belorussian than to Russian linguistic history.[33]

Different historical strata can be found in the illustrative sentence cited above. The early language, which can still be considered a dialect of the last stage of Common Slavic, still had the grammatical category of dual (expressed by an array of conjugational and declensional forms), and two simple preterit tenses, the aorist and the imperfect. The dual had surely disappeared in spoken East Slavic by 1300. Some noun-forms, particularly for words denoting paired objects, retained the formerly dual desinences, but they functioned syntactically as plurals. Dual verb-forms simply disappeared. Some copyists, however, reproduced obsolescent or obsolete forms accurately; L (and to some extent H) retains the old forms fairly well. Thus in 195.14 L has the highly-marked perfective imperfect станѧше, correlated with the even more specific dual perfective imperfect примерзнѧшета with the dual noun нозѣ as its subject, expressing one repeated but perfective action in the past ('would stand, take his place') as a condition that could result in another perfective act ('would freeze'). HX have an ordinary imperfective imperfect for the first, стоюше,[34] the perfective stem for the second (but with an inappropriate desinence),[35] but a perfective (не двигнѧше) where L has imperfective (не движаше).[36] Pat and Nik have eliminated perfective imperfects entirely.

The modern translations call our attention to a major stabilizing feature of the medieval written language, the conjunctions. Егда 'when' is ubiquitous in OCS and medieval texts, while non-interrogative когда, though well attested, is of relatively low frequency.[37] Когда occurs just twice in the PVL, in one sentence uttered by Olga (58.25, 26),[38] and even there the first example is replaced in RA by егда.[39] Коли appears only marginally in the early period.[40] It is precisely this

sort of fundamental structural word that differs widely from dialect to dialect but belongs to a small set of items that can be approved or proscribed. Writers and copyists surely saw this kind of item, along with such egregiously non-native forms as земля for genitive singular and nominative-accusative plural or мужа for gen. sg. or acc. pl., as significant indicators of the appropriate style for educated writing. An East Slav apprentice who had mastered such morphological noun forms, the simple preterits, and the general usage of егда, ѩко, идеже, дондеже, иже, да, нъ/но, and аще, and who remembered to use a handful of outstandingly bookish words (such as азъ, абье/абие, глаголати, пакы) was well on the way to an active command of written Slavonic. The elimination of the structural Slavonicisms marks a radical change; it is no longer mere stylistic updating and improvement, but a shift in language.

What, then, is the PVL? It is the concrete texts that might be labelled PVL^{L} or PVL^{H}, the somewhat more abstract texts like PVL^{RA}, and then the hypothetical pristine original *PVL. Ideally, we should assign words accordingly, so въпрабошняхъ belongs to PVL^{LHX} and *PVL but not to PVL^{RA}, while ботех belongs only to PVL^{RA}. The present state of our knowledge, however, requires more practical measures; I favor clear (if clumsy) double listings, such as "ботех, see въпрабошняхъ". More explicit definitions in terms of time and region must, for the most part, be postponed until this sort of preliminary classification has been completed.[41]

What about identifying words and listing them in a practical and accessible way? What sort of variation can we permit in identifying a lexeme?

For Tvorogov and for Gröber, the old assumption that twelfth-century bookmen were dealing with two different languages, Old Church Slavonic and "Old Russian"—a foreign language of prestige and learning versus the local vernacular (and/or an elaborated literary variant)—makes it desirable or even necessary to posit different lemmas for certain variable lexemes. Tvorogov, dealing only with a single manuscript for each section, carefully separates градъ 'town' from its synonym городъ, while Gröber, faced with data from all five witnesses, is not consistent: for the two hundred-odd passages with 'fortress, town, city' she provides only a cross-reference (градъ s. городъ), but for less frequent doublets she has separate lemmas (e.g. хоромина and храмина 'house'). The total evidence offers no empirical basis for deciding which spelling occurred in each specific passage in the hypothetical original PVL text, and therefore I maintain that the variant stems belong to one lexeme;[42] the mechanical lexicographic problems belong with a series of other editorial dilemmas (particularly how to deal with multiple spellings of prefixes).[43] Normalization of the fluctuating spelling, a task complicated by scribal lapses (omission, addition, transposition of one or more letters), is usually possible on the basis of the parallels in the surviving Rusian manuscripts from before 1120; some problems will be mentioned below.[44]

We can safely assume that the bookmen working on the PVL in the early 1100s were familiar with the variegated lexicon of the inherited Old Church

Slavonic texts, with items ranging from the elements preserved from the pioneering translations in ninth-century Morava through the revisions and new translations and original works produced in tenth- and early eleventh-century Macedonia and Bulgaria. Thus, for example, because the OCS *Codex Suprasliensis* sometimes uses ради 'for (the sake of)', and sometimes its "eastern" equivalent дѣлꙗ (not to mention заради, радьма, дѣльма), it is not surprising that both postpositions occur in the PVL. Ради was normal (over 70 examples), while дѣля is found only in eight passages. Only six of the phrases are attested in all five witnesses, and only once is there agreement, 24.3 мира дѣля 'for [to assure] peace'. Using capital letters to represent ради, this pattern is *lrah*.[45] The other five are: *lrahX* (52.4), *Lrahx* (265.24), *LraHX* (186.1), *LrAHX* (164.18), *LRAHx* (75.15). Further, множества ради ратных 'because of the multitude of soldiers' (it was impossible to sneak into the fortress) in X contrasts to L's множьствомь вои ратных (221.19),[46] while the notion expressed by грѣхъ ради наших (86.2, 111.5, 133.25) is worded at 215.22 за грѣхы наша in LHX, but rephrased in RA with про.[47]

With local material as well, variation sometimes makes it hard to decide the "original" wording. The noun *sail* is required five times in a section where L is defective, but T is available for two of the instances. Older *пърꙗ or *пьрꙗ[48] competes with an adaptation from Greek, парусъ. HX have only the former, which RA keep only once, while T has one of each: *traHX* (31.13), *TraHX* (31.16), *-raHX* (32.8, 110), *-RAHX* (32.14). I venture to conclude that парусъ was probably not in the oldest version.[49]

More limited materials are harder to judge. For example, Volodimer was born of Малуши ключницѣ Ользины "Maluša, Olga's stewardess (keeper of the keys)' in LRA (69.15), but милостьницѣ 'Olga's favorite' in HX.[50] Different editors chose different terms to describe the mother of the principal figure of the PVL; we can only guess at what the criteria of appropriateness might have been.[51]

In 195.14 we saw зима и мрази лютии, 'winter (or cold weather) and fierce frosts'; 223.16 has unhappy refugees на зимѣ держими in LRA, but на морозѣ держими in HX.[52] Like зима, мразъ/морозъ may mean 'cold, cold weather'. At 169.14, L speaks of fruits being frozen мразомь, but RAHX have сланою 'by frost'. These three passages account for all examples of both мразъ/морозъ and слана—a Church word (e.g. Ps 77:47). For Tvorogov, of course, слана is not a PVL word, but there is a legitimate question: might it not have been in the original PVL as part of the citation-studded sermon on God's punishments, and Lavrentij (or a predecessor) "improved" it as he copied?[53]

Sometimes the linguistic differences are significant enough to make it impossible to assign one wording confidently to the hypothetical *PVL. In 'let's establish order' (229.27) all three words vary: да порядъ L (уряд R, вряд A) положимъ LRA (ать рядъ учинимъ HX). Since *върѧдъ is otherwise unknown, A's variant can be taken as a Ruthenian spelling equivalent to the

урядъ of R (and of the phrase урядъ положиша at 38.12, where L is defective); but which of the three remaining nouns for *order* is most appropriate?[54] One surmises that they may have designated somewhat variant legal specifications c1110, but the scribes no longer understood the subtleties. As for the introductory words, да is common multipurpose bookish word shared with OCS, while ать is a North Slavic hortative particle.[55] Very rarely, five variants appear, e.g. at 170.9, where superstitious belief in *sneezing* is mentioned: закыханью L, кыханью H, зачиханью RA, чиханью X.[56]

Even prepositions may vary, occasionally in potentially significant ways. Thus in Svjatoslav's declaration (sub 969) to his mother Olga that he doesn't like being in Kyiv, Lav has him say, хочю жити **с** Переяславци **в** Дунаи. This is perfectly grammatical ('I want to live with the Perejaslav[c]ians in Dunaj'), but seems to indicate an otherwise unknown town called *Dunaj* where people associated with *Perejaslavec′* (or *Perejaslav* ?) are living. If L is indeed the authoritative text, this passage needs to be studied seriously. Tradition, however, prefers R's easier variants (**в** Переславци **на** Дунаи) '*in* Perejaslavec *on* the Danube.'[57]

Since it is well known that vocabulary varies with region, the lexicon has often been cited to demonstrate the origin of a text. And indeed certain complexes of words can be shown to belong to certain texts and therefore present a prima facie case for assigning them to a specific region. Now, the bookmen of Rus′ obviously knew the OCS literature that was created by translation and native South Slavic writers during the two centuries that precede the first items that were demonstrably written in Rus′, c1050,[58] for they adopted the language as their own, rapidly assimilating some non–East Slavic elements and combining them with systematically utilized native elements. Unfortunately, a large portion of the OCS heritage has been preserved only in East Slavic copies, and we can only guess at what changes the Rus′ scribes have introduced. On the whole, they seem to have been docile students, content to reproduce their models. Thus the heterogeneous lections in the extensive *Mstislav Gospel* of c1116–17 display a kaleidoscopically shifting OCS vocabulary, but virtually nothing that can be demonstrated to be distinctively East Slavic. At the same time, the first scribe of the *Izbornik* of 1073 surely introduced a couple of his own words. In a clause at 33a21, one of many where he imposed his own pleophonic morphemes, he wrote иже водоу черепліа и въ оудоробь оутьлоу лѣѭть (for лѣеть) '(a man) who draws (expected OCS чрѣпла) water and pours it into a cracked vessel'; for the кадь or делвь of later East Slavic copies he substituted the unique and surely East Slavic оудоробь.[59] Words that refer to concrete and familiar objects often are subject to change.[60] The scribe of the *Izbornik* of 1076 consistently (six times) replaced the ковъчегъ 'coffer, chest' (which could also refer to the Ark of the Covenant or Noah's Ark) with a new loan from Scandinavian, ларь, a narrower term the scribe-editor apparently deemed a more suitable container for rich garments. In the same episode, the eunuch (каженикъ) who served as a guide in a holy man's vision becomes 'a youth, very handsome'

(уноша, красьнъ зѣло); the Byzantine eunuch in a position of dignity and importance did not suit the Kievan's views.

Striking examples that in all probability reflect conscious scribal or editorial intervention in writing down a text are only a part of the story. The five witnesses of the PVL show, at every step, much less obvious differences—the minor sort of change that seems to have no little or semantic value. This category shades into differences that may show shifts of attitude or evaluation. Often it is impossible to discern whether we are facing conscious change or the very common phenomenon of scribal lapse.

Scribal changes tell us only that the copyist felt something was inappropriate—unknown, obscure, archaic, regional, stylistically unsuitable.[61] A very large number of contrasting forms seem to be matters of small stylistic differences. Different verbal stems may reflect local preferences we cannot possibly recover (e.g. 49.13 да показываеть L, показаеть HX, показуеть RA 'let him show'.[62] A number of examples involve aspect, e.g. 38.13 concerning the treaty of 912 (where L is defective) "neither Greek nor Rus′ is *to violate his oath*" клятвы не преступати HX (преступити RA), while at 52.29, as part of the text of the 945 treaty, "*not to deviate from it* (the treaty)" не преступити ѿ него L, не преступати (не переступати X) ѿ того. Contrasting prefixes surely reflect shifting semantic nuances, e.g. 129.2 увариша LX, вариша H, свариша RA 'cooked, brewed up'; 149.18 unrest "ceased" уста L, преста RAHX.[63] A verb may be opposed to a noun, e.g. Oleg asks the shamans about his fate (38.19), от чего ми есть смерть L (умрети RAHX)? Or an adjective, e.g. 161.2 еще живущю ему L (живу сущю ему RAHX) 'while he was still living/alive'.[64] Or a noun phrase, e.g. 195.27 'he began to play the fool' нача уродьство творити L (уродьствовати RAHX).[65] Or a verbal phrase, e.g. 191.29 'that he might make him a monk' дабы и створилъ черноризцемъ LHX, vs. 'that he might tonsure him' да пострижеть и RA. There may be conflicting modals, e.g. 66.16 'the people are about to surrender' предати ся хотять LRA (имуть NX) людье; 76.21 'I'll have you as (*lit.* in place of) father; you will be a father to me' имѣти тя хочю L (начну RAHX) во отца мѣсто; 243.21 'we will/can still fight' хочемъ L (можемъ RAHX) ся еще бити.[66] Noun phrases may compete, e.g. часъ and чинъ. Both may mean 'moment', but 'at that moment' offers more variations, 210.11 тотъ часъ H, въ тъ час X and в то чинъ L but ѡ то чина RA; 210.16 'at that very moment' вът же час H, въ тъ же час X and ѡ се чинь же L but ѡ си чину же RA. Connectives may differ, e.g. 179.2 бѣси же LRA, but бѣси бо HX—presumably "and (I wish to point out a characteristic of demons)" vs. "for (in explanation of demons' characteristics with relation to the foregoing events)".[67]

It is common that substitutions reflect caution, using the broadest and least specific terms to render the appropriate sense. The word may be trivial (e.g. 89.6 in LRHX Adam and Eve съшиста 'sewed' girdles from fig leaves, but in A сътвориста 'made') or exotic (205.14 Prince David, raiding the town nearest the

mouth of the Dnieper, seized грькы 'Greeks' in LX, but *грьчьникы '*Greekers*, traders who deal with the Greeks' in RAH—a term found nowhere else),[68] or in between (28.5 борзописца [dual acc] RAH 'stenographers', скорописца LTX;[69] 214.19 кличаномъ 'shouters [who startle birds to fly up for hunters'] LRA, людемъ 'people' HX). There may be conflicting genders (185.19 мало коврижекъ LHX, коврижець RA 'a little hardtack, a few little twice-baked loaves').[70] A diminutive may be opposed to a nondimunitive (6.17 рѣчьки ради LHX, реки ради RA 'because of the (little) river'; 192.4 мѣхомъ [Is] LRA, мѣшькомъ HX 'hide [of a goat]').[71] In the case of мѣстьце 'place' we must reckon with the complication that it may be opposed to мѣсто 'city' in the speech of the scribes of RAHX. It occurs four times in a single passage referring to the spot where Anthony, founder of the Caves Monastery, had his private cave, but only at 158.29 do all five witnesses agree on мѣстьце мало, where the dimunitive sense is reinforced by the adjective. In the other three (156.30, 31, 157.1) L has мѣсто, the others generally мѣстьце.[72]

The difference may concern the adequacy of a phrase (204.2 L for driving away *of demons* бѣсомь RAHX, or *demonic hate* ненависти бѣсовское L), or choice of clichés (65.24 'in great/heavy force' в силѣ велицѣ LRA, тяжьцѣ HX), or even of meaning (170.23 are to we understood that Izjaslav simply arrived in Kyiv, пришедшю RAHX, or was he fleeing, побѣгшю L?).[73]

There are no sure criteria to guide our decisions; each case must be weighed separately. Sifting through the data once again will be a long process, but the task must be undertaken.

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NOTES

1. The name ("The Tale of Temporal [*or* Temporary] Years") is probably an old scribal distortion for Повѣсть временъ и лѣтъ 'The Tale of Seasons and Years' (see Lunt 1995), as Karamzin seems to have recognized. The photocopy of a page bearing the words Повѣсти временъ и лѣтъ, отъ Ноя и отъ его сыновъ, Како раздѣлиша землю, и отъколѣ сталась Русская Земля, in a hand stated to be that of Karamzin, is published in Vladimir Petrovič Kozlov, *Кружок А. И. Мусина-Пушкина и «Слово о полку Игореве»* (Moscow, 1988), p. 134. The accompanying text identifies the manuscript only as "the so-called Chronicle of Krivoborskij."

2. L was published in vol. 1.1 of the *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (Leningrad, 1926), with variants from R and A. The full text of R, with variants from A, was published in *PSRL* 38 (1989). H was published in P*SRL 2,* 1908, with variants from X. A photocopy of X came out in the *Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts: vol. 8* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). The most practical standard of reference is the column-plus-line of PSRL 1. A more recent standard refers to page-plus-line of Dmitrij Lixačev's 1950 edition; unfortunately his eclectic text is not based on a consistent methodology.

3. Sometimes a sixth witness is adduced—T, the lost Trinity manuscript often cited by 18th-century historians, presumably an early 15th-century copy of a text close to L but with some significant differences. It was "reconstructed" by Priselkov (1950).

4. Are the opening words Се повѣсти [NB plural] временьных лѣтъ (like LT), or simply Повѣсть временных лѣтъ (like RAHX)? Are they followed by Нестера черноризца Феодосьева манастыря печерьскаго (like X), or is the personal name 'Nestor' omitted (as in RAH)?

5. Is all of the HX text for 1111–1117 really original? Should not the text describing identical events in LRA be considered, even though it has been re-dated from the "March" reckoning for the years to the "ultra-March" system?

6. Did the newly-arrived Prince Rjurik settle in Ladoga, as recorded in RAHX, in Novgorod, as it apparently said in T, or is the matter not mentioned, as in L (20.5–6)? When stabbed by "the accursed Neradec," was Jaropolk lying in a cart (па возѣ LRA) or on a sled or sledge (на санках H, на санех X), 206.8? Did Prince Vsevolod Jaroslavič, having passed away "become close to" his (fore-)fathers (приближи ся L 217.12), or was he—like other mortals—"laid unto his fathers" (приложи ся RAHX)?

7. For example, at 135.1 the murderers of Boris return аки хулу имуще 'as though they have *blasphemy*' for the 'praise' хвалу of RAHX. At 26.21 the Rus' prince Oleg is substituted for the Byzantine emperor Leo: ко Олгови L; ко Лвови RAHX. At 152.20 words of wisdom are attributed to Симонъ; RAHX Соломонъ. At 235.20 the apocalyptic writer Methodius of Patara (Патариискыи) becomes the Pope of Rome (папа ри^м^скыи).

8. Tvorogov's assumptions require him occasionally to list a word that should not be considered as PVL vocabulary, and more often to omit words that surely were in the early text. Thus he correctly lists домовитъ as a lexeme in R, but gives no hint that it is almost certainly an error. It occurs at 35.15 (in the 912 treaty—L is defective) in RA, but HX have имовитъ 'in possession of property', and the next sentence contrasts a man who is не имовит (34.18). In the parallel article in the 945 treaty (51.27) all five manuscripts have имовитъ. The scribe who introduced the word into a fore-text of RA surely knew домовитъ 'paterfamilias' from the Gospel of Matthew, but it is out of place in the treaty. Имовитъ is known otherwise only from originally OCS texts.

On the contrary, from the 912 treaty Tvorogov's principle excludes the noun поконъ 'custom' (HX 34.23 vs. RA законъ; 37.21 AHX vs. R законъ). This rare word is attested in old Rus' legal sources, and thus is of particular interest; законъ is banal, for it was obviously common to all Slavs.

9. Unfortunately she includes the passages attributed to Monomax without specific marking that these words do not belong to the PVL.

10. My discussion is based on an incomplete dictionary utilizing Gröber's column-plus-line references to *PSRL* 1, and the line-by-line juxtaposition of the witnesses prepared by Don Ostrowski and David Birnbaum.

11. A. Moldovan (1994) confidently posits six laws: 1. words perceived as nonstandard (некнижний) or even [?] colloquial are replaced by the literary equivalent; 2. archaic OCS words > normal Slavonic; 3. regional words > general; 4. words perceived as expressively marked > neutral words; 5. transliterated Greek words > Slavic; 6. words denoting a concrete object > words denoting a class of objects. He believes that he knows when a word is colloquial, regional, or archaic. He further believes that his laws define changes that can go only in one direction. This is illusory; scribal vagaries are not governed by such neat precepts. On the whole, Moldovan is stating the obvious, that inappropriate items are replaced by what the scribe deems suitable. He seems unable to distinguish between facts and hypotheses. He simply ignores items that do not fit his theory, and his interpretations of the skimpy data he provides are dubious. He is poorly acquainted with the non-Russian literature on these topics (and appears not to have understood the articles he does mention).

12. References in this paper cite the Laurentian text location (see note 2), even though the word(s) under discussion may be in another copy. Citations will not attempt to reproduce all orthographic details of individual manuscripts.

13. Sreznevskij died in 1880, and his *Materialy* were published by his son and daughter. The *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI–XVII vv.* (hereafter *SRJaXI*), which began to appear in Moscow in 1975, often merely reproduces Sreznevskij's wording. In the case of R's ботех, however, *SRJaXI* provides a lemma "боты" and a more cautious definition, 'род обуви' (sort of footwear). The plural form "прабошни" is the lemma in *SRJaXI*, defined 'вид обуви' (kind of footwear); it is illustrated by L's text with R's variant and by Pat, and has a cross-reference to "поршни". In fact the lemma (where the Nikon Chr. example is cited, along with other examples from after 1550), is not plural, but "поршень (поръшьнь, порьшьнь)". As for *bašmak*, a borrowing from Turkic, the earliest attestation in *SRJaXI* is after 1580.

14. Sreznevskij followed the practice of his day in labelling as "PVL" citations from sections of the PVL text that had been incorporated in the mid-16th century Nikon Chronicle (and some other later chronicles) with only moderate updating. More recent scholarship is careful to specify the source of such citations, separating them from the data of LRAHX.

15. L'vov 1977 is useful for bibliographic information and for comparative data, but his analyses are erratic and his methodology uncertain. (Filin's 1949 *Leksika russkogo literaturnogo jazyka drevnekievskoj èpoxi (po materialam letopisej)*, vol. 60 of *Učenye zapiski Leningradskogo*

pedagogičeskogo instituta, was not available to me, though I have consulted it in the past. It is alarmingly inaccurate with data and "interprets" on the basis of Marr's eccentric linguistic dogmas; it can safely be forgotten.)

16. Often we must call on outside materials to resolve questions; for example, in the hair-splitting definitions of the Persons of the Trinity in the "Philosopher's Speech", LRA omit a phrase (112.17) that in H reads (not quite comprehensibly) и безначаленъ, but X has и събезначален 'and also unoriginate, co-minus-beginning' using an originally OCS calque from Greek. At 21.22 LTRAH refer to a river, but X has в мори; since this is a passage taken from the Chronicle of George the Monk (Hamartolos), we can determine that only X is correct.

17. Like Gröber, I exclude items from Novgorod chronicles, which were occasionally included by Aleksandr Šaxmatov (1864–1920) in his influential "reconstructed" PVL (1916).

18. Not every detail of the spelling has been reproduced, but significant differences have been retained.

19. Let me emphasize that change is the norm for medieval copyists (and the earlier scribes who produced the Greek manuscripts on which editions of the New Testament are based). The Jewish rabbinical tradition that has successfully maintained an identity of biblical texts since the ninth century (including precise replication of mistakes in the ancient model) is egregiously exceptional. It is clear that the early Slavic biblical texts were far from sacrosanct; any scribe could modify any detail perceived as out of place with regard to the message—which was to be found in Greek, not native, manuscripts. Other texts, once translated, tended to be reproduced with considerable fidelity; change on the whole meant deterioration, as careless or ignorant copyists introduced ever new errors.

20. A small lexical difference may signal a difference in point of view, perhaps therefore an editorial matter. For example, a treacherous general tells Jaropolk in L побѣгни за градъ (77.20) 'flee beyond the town'—a very specific piece of advice, even though it may not be clear to us—but RAHX have a simpler из града 'from, out of the town'; the different advice affects the structure of the next sentence, even though the overall effect is minor.

21. Sreznevskij's nominative singular прабошьнь is inappropriate for the -яхъ desinence of the attested form. The "restored" jer of прабошьня (e.g., L′vov 87, Gröber) is unnecessary; if the root is *bos* 'barefoot, unshod' and the suffix *-nja,* the palatal *š* will result by assimilation to the palatal *-nj-* of the suffix (whereas *-bos-ьnja* should remain unchanged).

22. This surely was the reasoning that allowed the phrase to be dropped from the revisions in RA, Pat, and Nik. Formally, however, they could show suppression of the older gender distinction in the plural of adjectives. Note that X has чръв- for expected чрѣв-. This is probably a simple error, but there is a remote possibility that a dialect somewhere had *čьrv- for usual *červ-: thus where a Rusian variant of a sermon by Ephraim the Syrian has чрѣварѧ (Ap, 'sandal-maker'?), a South Slavic parallel has чрьварѧ (Bojkovsky 4:74, 77), but the text is not altogether clear.

23. Glosses to clarify an obscure word or phrase often were put in the margin, but copyists could insert them in the text. The clearest instances in the PVL are introduced by рекше 'that is (to say)'. Thus an obsolescent Slavic month-name is mentioned, м҃цъ груденъ рекше ноябрь (261.25) '*Gruden*, i.e., November'; Muslims worship въ храмѣ рекше в ропати (108.10) 'in the temple, i.e., the mosque'; Catholics use опрѣсноки рекше оплатки (86.27) 'unleavened wafers, i.e., *oplatoks*'. In the latter two cases, it is probable that the unfamiliar word was originally in first position. Commonly enough, later copyists will omit the difficult word entirely. Thus the Greek Chronicle of George the Monk (Hamartolos) mentions a spectacular star "which they called Lampadia" (cf. λάμπας 'torch'); the Slavonic is юже именоваху Лампадию, рекше Блистанницу, with a gloss, 'i.e., the Shiner'. The PVL changes the verb and eliminates the original noun, юже прозываху Блистаницю (LRA, H Блисталницю). X changes the verb again and updates the syntax, юже нарицаху Блисталницею.

24. This is the phrase in the redactions of 1406 and 1462, but Abramovyč refers to still another variant (at the end of fn. 3 to p. xiv), в калигахъ протоптанехъ. This Byzantine term, 'footwear for soldiers' (adapted from Latin *caliga*), is inappropriate here.

25. See Vasmer, sub поршень.

26. It describes a stove in another episode about Isaakij (196.13). When a fire is lit, the flames flare out through the cracks; Isaakij covers the flames with his bare feet until the danger is past. (See also notes 58–59.)

27. Notice that three lemmas have been invented. Sreznevskij posits a singular, ботъ; Gröber invents the nominative plural form still plausible for writers of 1500, боти; *SRJaXI* writes the modern боты. This was very likely the form that would have been *spoken* by the scribes of R and A; Sreznevskij's proposal adroitly avoids the issue. As to the sense, "boots" were presumably rather substantial, even though defined as faulty; they do not fit the context very well, in my opinion.

28. Compare Perm′ dialect набосичках 'barefoot' (also Pskov and Novgorod напробось, напробоску, cf. Filin), Ukr. dialect вправусць, with forms of similar type from Kashubian, Polish, and even SW Bulgarian (Hrycenko 192). As for the paradoxical sense, compare Eng. "He walked in in his birthday suit"—i.e., naked.

29. The ineluctable question of normalized spelling is to be answered, I suggest, in favor of a single word (as R второпях); since a space is present in all printed texts, a cross-reference is desirable in a dictionary ("прабош-, see въпрабошняхъ").

30. Her convention is to write "tense ь" with "и"; I prefer the jer, which was normal for L and H. She posits a plural rather than a singular noun; one might expect a dual in the old language, but in any case the singular allows one to predict any regular case-form. Her use of asterisks to mark invented forms is welcome; unfortunately, she does not use it consistently.

31. Tvorogov's principles allow him to overlook this problem of conflicting variants, but I find it puzzling that he lumps this example under the lemma череви (gender?, declension?) with the accusative череви LX, черевии N, черевь A, чрево R of 123.4. There the young tanner преторже 'tore' the "черев*"—presumably the hide from a bull's belly. The form is unclear (R's чрево 'belly' is surely inappropriate, showing only that the scribe was confused), and the meaning can hardly be a finished piece of footwear. Prudence dictates a separate lemma; Gröber posits *черевь, with an unjustified alternate *черевие; I would venture *черевьи.

32. They also expand the noun *stone* to *stone floor.*

33. Priselkov develops an elaborate argument that the common ancestor of RA is a compilation of 1212 (1940, 82–85), and then discusses the value of lexical substitutions for the history of Russian (86). His claim that "боты" replaced "прабошни черевы" (?) in 1212 is thoroughly improbable, since the word was not known in Polish until after 1400. The phrase in R and A surely came from a common ancestor, but it must date from a good two centuries after 1212. However, not every substitution in RA is modernization; at 222.19, in a citation from Amos 8:10 the widely-used and surely native плачь 'weeping, lamentation' is replaced by сетование, a relatively rare and bookish synonym. (RA retain плачь in fifteen other passages, including one from Amos 5:1, 95.1.)

34. Note that стоюше, стоѧше (Pat), and стоаше (Nik) differ only orthographically, and require no comment; they belong under the lemma of a regular stem (*stoj-a-*, стояти). What is important is that they are morphologically separate from станѧше, from irreg. *stan-* стати.

35. Нози in H (where the letters "и" and "ѣ" are interchangeable) is a spelling variant of X's нозѣ, and probably nominative, requiring us to emend the verb to примерзнѧху. Perhaps it could be accusative, however, if we allow the dubious premise that the verb could be transitive and thereby justify the singular ending -ше. This dilemma may be why RA have changed the syntax (but not the message!), using the irregular *plural* ногама.

Pat keeps the irregular nominative, but regularizes the instrumental to ногами.

36. For a well-reasoned analysis of the usage of the perfective imperfects we require many more extended narrative contexts of this type; unfortunately we have none in manuscripts of the 1120s or earlier. Just how the factors of tense, aspect, and negation might have determined speakers' choice here is a matter for speculation. Another complication is that the initial verb, приспѣюше, could be assigned to either aspect in the old language, as could the last, отъпоюху. — The addition of сѧ in RA seems inappropriate. Yet a lexicographer should record the forms, even if only to mark them as dubious.

37. Some approximate numbers from published glossaries (not taking account of certain usages where the two might not be in competition), OCS *Suprasliensis,* 12:51; Rusian *Izbornik* of 1073, 11:187; *Izbornik* of 1076, zero:61; *Sinajskij paterik,* c1100, 8:101; *Mstislav Gospel,* c1117, 21:214; *Uspenskij Sbornik,* c1260s, 19:209.

38. The spelling когда is impeccably old and suitable for a lemma; кънгда is an OCS regional variant, and its appearance in X shows the scribe's attempt to follow Bulgarian spelling, and surely has nothing to do with his pronunciation or what word he would use in his own speech. Gröber for some reason marks her entry with an asterisk, *кънгда.

39. In the second, the preceding words, 'and for the third time' и третьее were emphasized by addition of же in an ancestor of HX. A later scribe inappropriately put a punctuation mark that led to X's у третiе.еже кънгда, and H's и третьее.еже когда; presumably this now might specify '*on the occasion* when'.

40. Three in 1073, one in 1076, one in *Sin pat,* none in *Mst,* 14 in *Usp.*: again these are raw numbers, without regard to function.

41. Even now we may venture a few. Surely 195.18 permits us to assign LHX's поварьница 'kitchen' to the original 12th-c. PVL, while RA's поварня is to be labelled a post-1400 Western or Ruthenian innovation.

42. For discussion of salient examples, see Lunt 1992 443–44. For 11th-c. *tьrt, tъrt, tъlt,* L often preserves the jer, as do manuscripts from the early 12th c., but usual spelling in LRAH is with "e" or "o" (дьрж-/держ-, гърд-/горд-, дълг-/долг). X prefers the newly fashionable archaising Bulgarian style (дръж-, грьд-, длъг-), occasionally, however, with errors (e.g. чрьвьих 195.15, for чрѣвьих, cf. note 22 above).

43. For example, 83.7 претребуете LRA, перетребуете X, перетеребуете H (one verb, three spellings); 220.20 пребредъ рѣку RAHX, but пебредъ L (is this to be classed with пре- or a highly plausible пере-?) 'wade/swim across'; 73.16 исѣчени L, иссѣ- N, изсѣ- X, исъсѣ- RA (Gröber puts this under иссѣщи, in fact a rather rare type of spelling; I prefer исѣк-).

44. The number of lexemes in my dictionary-in-progress, including dubious items like хула (n. 7), домовитъ (n. 8), and поварня (n. 40), but counting градъ/городъ and the like as single words, is somewhat under 5200, of which over a thousand are proper names and adjectives derived from them.

45. In theory, if a phrase is attested in all five witnesses, contrasts that can be marked in plus/minus terms may represent 32 possible patterns. Thus all five may agree on +, or all on -. Or one manuscript may have a *plus* vs. 4 with *minus* (or vice versa). A major pattern is RLA vs. HX, a fact interpreted as the result of the redactions of the 1110s. When LH are opposed to RAX, it usually shows linguistic innovation in the newer mss. R and A in practice are identical except for orthography and minor individual scribal errors; they also are more innovating than X, the youngest copy.

46. R множествомъ ратных, AH множество (probably by omission of a superscript final -м) ратных omit the redundant noun вои.

47. Про is not otherwise attested in the PVL; the oldest occurrence is sub 1139 in L 306.7, and it becomes more common after 1200. In RA it is surely an innovation.

48. The jer is not attested, and the etymology is obscure, perhaps a Finnic *purje,* perhaps the native root **per* 'fly'.

49. The notion is not required in canonical OCS texts, but scattered evidence suggests that ѣдро, ѣдрина, ѣдрило and also вѣтрило were used. The last appears in the *Izbornik* of 1076 (cf. U вітрило). The oldest ESl version of Acts 27:17, 40, the 12th-c. Xristinopol' Apostol uses ꙗдрина (as do the oldest SSl copies), yet the Ostroh Bible (1581) has вѣтрило.

50. I am not attempting to reproduce all the orthographical variations. Here LHX unexpectedly write *olьzin-*, while the usually innovating RA have the correct older stem-shape *olьžin-*.

51. A hint is provided when Rognědʹ refuses to marry Volodimer, saying, 'I won't take (his) shoes off' (symbolizing wifely submission): розути робичича 'the son of a slave' (робица) in LRA clearly is contemptuous; розути Володимера in HX is emotionally neutral. (A corrector

changed X's text to an even more general *ити* за 'marry'.) *Stewardess*, then, perhaps was socially less desirable than *favorite*. But which attitude belonged to the "original" PVL?

52. The next phrase is и ураняеми L 'and wounded', и укаряеми RAHX 'and reviled'. This the only example of ураняти; укаряти occurs twice more.

53. Problems in Biblical citations can only be mentioned here. In the same sermon, at 168.10, there is a badly garbled phrase that in Isaiah 48:4 reads, жила желѣзна выя твоя, 'thy neck is an iron sinew.' *Neck* in OCS is usually выꙗ, a word that did not survive in any of the languages, but шиꙗ is attested (once, Supr). Our texts have

шия желѣзна выя твоя RAHX
шия желѣзная твоя L.

L lacks the two letters "вы"; did Lavrentij omit them inadvertently or on purpose?

54. Cf. 230.26 порядъ положити; with contrasting verbs in 237.2 порядъ створити L, but положити RAHX. The verb учинити is attested elsewhere in similar contexts.

55. The phrase is preceded by Поиди (+ кь A) Кыеву, 'Come to Kiev' (where RX exceptionally retain the old prepositionless dative, common in LH). Да is imprecise; it could be a connective 'and' or final 'in order to'—in either case intimately connected to the preceding verb. However, the verb may be taken as imperative, with да merely an emphatic element, 'Do let's make order!' Ать excludes the first possibility and probably the second. Which word was in the hypothetical *PVL?—The spelling ать does not occur in L (twice атъ, twice ат), and in four of the eight passages where ать is attested in one or more of the other four witnesses, L has да twice, азъ once, and at 39.4 it is defective. H has the inappropriate дать at 39.4, and ать in the other seven places. (At 39.4, X has ать, A атъ, and R а то: the *SRJaXI* sub ать cites this passage from the First Sofia Chronicle, a 15th-c. compilation; Tvorogov separates а and то.) Šaxmatov, operating with the assumption that L is to be preferred, puts L's phraseology into his reconstruction (1916 288.14); in his view, then, the 1116 editor replaced the general and bookish да by his native ать.

56. Here Šaxmatov (1916 215.20) chooses the RA variant, supported by a Novgorod chronicle parallel. I find this decision extremely dubious; surely the older copies, L and H, are to be favored. In the translated Chronicle of George the Monk (Hamartolos), кыхание occurs in a similar context of superstition, but was misunderstood by some scribes, who substituted кытание (otherwise unknown) or дыхание (a known word, but inappropriate).

57. So, e.g. Lixačev. HX also have **в** Переяславци, and Šaxmatov 1916 79 posits an original prepositionless locative, thereby implying HX have updated the construction in the usual way, while Lavrentij's *with* must be an inexplicable blunder. Yet HX agree with L on в Дунаи, as do two of the Novgorod copies, so he posits original **въ**. As far as I am aware, this preposition with a river-name always specifies *in the water*, a problem Šaxmatov did not address. Note that in modern Slovenian *Dunaj* designates Vienna, while *Donava* is the name of the Danube (*Dunav* in SC, Bg, OCS).

58. Russian scholars continue to assume that there *must have been* translators and original native writers in Kyiv in the 1030s if not earlier, although there is not a shred of supporting evidence. Moldovan (1994, 69) does not understand that a challenge to an assumption cannot be refuted by merely citing earlier authors who have shared the assumption (cf. n. 11). His remark that the chronicle ties the beginning of East Slavic translations to the activity of Jaroslav the Wise is false, because the text of the five witnesses is incoherent and provides no clear message, as I showed in 1988. Moldovan may choose to *assume* that the intent of the passage was to register the activity of Kievan translators in the 1030s, but he is wrong to present his speculation as though it were fact.

59. The root is surely **dorb*, reflected in such Russian dialect forms as доробок, доробья 'basket' (Filin), but apparently unknown elsewhere in Slavic. Кадь (Gk κάδος, Lat. *cadus*) 'barrel' was well known in Rus′ (cf. PVL 128.10, 11, 14), while **dъlji* or **dьlji* (Lat. *doleus*) appears in a variety of texts (with older stem дъльв-, дьльв- later делв-). Either is plausible for the original Bulgarian translation, but it is possible that the Greek πίθος may have been adopted, cf. в пифаре (for *пиѳѣ?) in the *Life* of Andrew the Fool, a text surely inherited from Bulgaria (*pace* Moldovan 1994) but considerably revised by Rus′ scribes and editors.

60. The 13th-c. Serbian copy has substituted врьчьвоу, surely an innovating shape of older *вьрчьвь (SC *vrč; vrčma, vrčva*; Mac *vrčva, vrčka*; Bg dial връчва, връчка) '(earthen) jug, jar', adapted from Latin *urceus.* The individual scribes chose a term that seemed best suited to the notion expressed; only the Rus' scribe found a truly local word. (I am grateful to the monks of Hilendar Monastery and the Hilendar Research Library at Ohio State University for a photocopy of fol. 96v of Hilendar Slavic manuscript 382.)

61. Changes that shift the point of view or the meaning are uncommon (such as милостьница vs. ключьница, noted above) in the PVL, but they are in principle to be expected. Some changes in the *Izbornik* of 1076, for example, show a clear secularization: in a tract on how a *monk* should act, the word "monk" is regularly replaced by человѣкъ. Further, numerous denunciations of drink are directed at медъ "mead"—the favored beverage of the Rus'—though originally the texts had вино 'wine'. The Rus' editor follows his models closely, but not mechanically or passively; when a change is desirable, he makes it.

62. All three stems are attested (along with показаваютъ) in the mid-12th-c. *Uspenskij sbornik,* in texts that may well have been familiar to the authors of the PVL. Contrasting imperfectivizing suffixes are not at all unusual, 185.28, 'and (Lent) ends, comes to its end' кончаваеть же ся L, кончает же ся HX, but RA prefixed скончаеть ся. Other suffixes may vary as well, e.g. 189.26 'having blinked' съмьжаривъ L, съмьживъ RAHX; both stems are attested elsewhere in early Rus'. The imperfect 'be winning, be gaining the upper hand' appears in five passages, in which five verbal stems compete, одалати, одолати, одаляти, одоляти, одолѣвати (plus, in one place, the inappropriate perfective одолѣти). All five formations are plausible for OCS, though only одолѣвати is attested. How are we to decide what was in *PVL?

63. None of the four prefixed stems of these two sentences is otherwise attested in the PVL; what do we posit for *PVL?

64. The three-way contrast at 187.33, по моеи смр҃ти 'after my death' (LRA) vs. по моемь животѣ 'after my life' (H) vs. по моем ошествии 'after my departure' (X), results in part from the context; in 187.28 the dying abbot Feodosij looks forward to the time after his departure from this world, and the phrase a*fter my departure* recurs in line 30. The scribe of X kept this euphemism where the original text was probably the direct reference to *death.* Why H substituted *life* remains a puzzle.

65. At 196.4, RA has уродство творя, affirming L's phrase, but it is surely secondary and perhaps a lapse for LHX's уродом ся творя 'pretending to be a fool'; RA has eliminated the element of pretense.

66. The use of хотѣти as a future auxiliary, 'be about to', is affirmed both in direct speech and in citations from the Bible and other originally OCS sources, but a number of passages offer no criteria for separating a simple futuristic *will* from a stronger *wish, want to.* The future sense of им- is relatively uncommon, but unmistakable. Начати in this meaning is rare.

67. Бо, бѣ, and бы not infrequently compete, and sometimes one form is obviously mistaken. We must not forget the possibility that all the witnesses might be wrong. Thus, они бы ... учать (26.11) is ungrammatical; either something has been omitted, or the second word must be бо. The latter is obviously the answer, because the passage is a paraphrase from the Life of Methodius.

68. Original "sewed" in 89.6 is guaranteed by its presence in the four most reliable copies. The exotic word in 205.14 is to be favored because of the agreement of H with RA, and the probability (not Moldovan's implacable rule number 1 [or would it be 3, or 4?], cf. n. 11) that the unfamiliar explicit term is likely to be replaced.

69. The former corresponds to the Life of Methodius, from which this passage is derived, but it is notable that письць is not attested in OCS. The notion in Ps 44:2 was probably *ѧдропишѧща (Gs), replaced in the Eastern OCS redaction by скорописьца. Since, however, our knowledge of this redaction is derived from Rusian copies (starting with Sinai 6, early 12th-c., cf. Altbauer), a definitive answer eludes us.

70. Here the masculine (old -ьк-а) was original, RA's feminine with -ьц- an innovation. The nondiminutives ковригъ and коврига appear in later texts.

71. Moldovan's fourth law (n. *11*) fits the first; to apply it to the second is to deny Šaxmatov's principle that L is—other things being equal—to be favored.

72. At 156.30 A and X also have мѣсто, RH мѣстьце (one of the relatively rare cases where A disagrees with R).

73. The chronicle speaks of flight in no fewer than 120 passages, often with contrasting expressions. Frequently the old aorist бѣжа is replaced by бѣже or побѣже, and many instances with other competing prefixes occur. The detailed account of events in 1096 provide an extreme example, 231.24: L has simply 'they fled' (и побѣгоша), while the others have 'rushed to flight' и устремиша ся на бѣгъ AHX (which R carelessly modified to на берегъ, 'to the shore'—surely associating the verb with the Gadarene swine of Mt 8:32, Mk 5:13, L 8:23). As for 'hasten, rush', устрьмити ся occurs in five more passages where all copies agree. Sub 1096 (232.22), however, the Polovcian invaders *hurried* about the monastery in search of booty (устремиша ся RAHX), or else simply *set out* (поидоша L).

The Dative Absolute in the *Primary Chronicle*: Some Observations

DEAN S. WORTH

0. Introduction. We are usually taught that the Dative Absolute construction (DA) is a subordinate clause, temporal or causal in meaning, the subject of which is not, or at least should not be, identical with that of its superordinate main clause (MC). As a first approximation, this is a reasonable definition, although more so for Old Church Slavonic than for Old East Slavic (henceforth, in deference to the Harvard tradition, "Rusian"). In fact, however, when one looks closely at a large number of Rusian examples, the standard definition turns out to be neither entirely accurate nor entirely adequate. Less than accurate, because the DA is not always demonstrably subordinate to any other clause, the meaning of the DA is not always either temporal or causal, and the interrelations of actants in the DA and MC are more complex than the mere existence or not of coreferential subjects. Less than adequate, because the texts contain DAs beyond the compass of the standard definition, for example, those substituting for finite predicative clauses in functions other than backgrounding. When examined closely, and from viewpoints other than those of the standard taxonomies, the DA shows a complex interaction of syntactic, grammatical, lexical, and pragmatic factors, some of which have, as far as I know, hardly been investigated at all.[1] The purpose of this article is to explore some of these factors in a preliminary way. The chosen corpus is intentionally narrow, the app. 275 DAs in the first or Povest′ Vremennyx Let (PVL) section of the Hypatian Chronicle (Hyp).[2]

Since we will be interested in the nonstandard aspects of the DA, we make no attempt to survey the substantial earlier literature, the most interesting of which for our purpose is Belorussov 1899, Stanislav 1934, Růžička 1961, Večerka 1961, Kedajtene 1968, Andersen 1970, Gebert 1987 and Živov 1995; see the survey of this and more in Corin 1995. Finally, a demurrer: what is offered below are a number of observations that are interrelated, especially by their common interest in problems of narrative structure, but which make no pretense of being integrated into a complete and coherent essay.

1. Anaphoric subject repetition. It is usual to divide DAs into those in which the subject of the DA does not recur as subject of the MC (the "Greek" type, since this prohibition was, at least in theory, imposed on the Greek genitive absolute on which the Slavic DA was modeled) and those in which it does so recur, for example Поляном же живущи/м/ осо/б/(ѣ). по горам сим. и бѣ путь из Варяг в Грѣкы 5–6 and Киеви же пришедшю в свои город Киев. ту и сконча живот свои 8. From the point of view of discourse functions, the "non-Greek" type places the DA subject as a participant in a sustained narrative: first Kyj comes to his town Kyev (referring back anaphorically to the tale of the founding of Kyev)

and then he dies. In the "Greek" type, the DA subject appears only in its own backgrounded clause and then disappears. The "Greek" and "non-Greek" types, however, are only polar opposites, and are bridged by a variety of other structures in which the DA subject appears in the MC in anaphoric guises other than subject. For example, in Печенѣгом идущим на Русь. и посла противу им Бориса 115, the Pechenegs reappear in the MC as the anaphoric object им and will presumably play a further role in the expected battle narrative, exactly as Kyj continues his narrative role in the earlier example. The DA subject can recur anaphorically as direct object in the MC, e.g. побью и и [XP omit] всими чюдесы моими. и пришедъшю Моисѣови. и не послуша его фараон. 82, as part of noun phrases, яко водою обновление буде/т/. ап(о)/с/(то)ло/м/ же учащи/м/ по вселеннеи вѣровати Б(ог)у. и/х/ же учение и мы Греци приахо/м/ 92, in a prepositional phrase, as in Б(ог) не дасть дьяволу радости. Володимеру же разболѣвшюся. в се время бяше у него Борис 115, etc., in all of which the discourse role of the DA subject is in no way less important than in the "non-Greek" type, in which it does not surface formally at all (ту и сконча [sc. Kyj] живот свои 8).

2. Partial subject overlap. The artificiality of the "Greek" : "non-Greek" distinction is equally evident when one examines a type of DA which has a plural subject in the DA, one component of which then serves as the singular MC subject, for example, и ополчистася. и сразившима/с/(я) полкома. и побѣди Яропо/л/к Олга 62. Similarly, a singular DA subject can reappear as one component of a plural MC subject, e.g. помозита ми. на противнаго сего убиицю гордаго и се ему рекшю. и поидоша противу собѣ 131. It seems clear that the discourse relations between the DA and the MC are not exhausted by the mere constatation that their subjects are or are not identical.

3. Complex DAs. A structural taxonomy of DAs would distinguish those with a single subject and predicate (Деревляном же пришедъши/м/ 45), those with multiple subject and single predicate (бывшюже съступу и брани крѣпцѣ 267), those with single subject and multiple predicate (онѣм же бьющимся с града и стрѣляющим межи собою 247), and those with multiple subjects and predicates (тишинѣ сущи. и морю укротившюся 15). Contrary to what might be one's first impression, there actually is something of interest in these distinctions, since the greater the number of predications, and the more complex these predications are, the less easily they are interpreted as all equally backgrounded to some single subsequent finite clause, that is, the more easily they can be interpreted as stylistically driven substitutes for such finite clauses. Also, with any number of predicates larger than one, the reader's or listener's tendency to assume an iconic relation between the order of narrated events and that of the speech events referring to them will give rise to possible sequential interpretation of the DA predicates, that is, as events in a narrative chain (in the example above, one might reasonably assume that the wind first died down and that the sea then grew calm).

Diachronically, complex DAs can be seen as the precursors of constructions in which entire sets of DA occur without any evident MC to which they might be backgrounded, e.g. Ему же поручивше [for поручившю, DSW] по смерти свою волость. дая князю Данилови. Татаром же бѣгающим. Данилови же избивающи [for избивающю, DSW] их своим полком. и Олгови Курьскому крѣпко бившимся [for бившюся, DSW]. инѣм полком. сразившимся с ними грѣх ради наших. Руским полком побѣженым бывшим. ... 744 (s.a. 1224).

4. Non-standard DAs. The PVL part of Hyp contains a number of examples in which the DA has a quite different syntactic function from those usually catalogued. With verbs of speech and perception, the DA can represent a predication functioning as a second object, either paratactically, as in с(о)лнце прѣменися. не бы/с/(ть) свѣтло. но акы м(е)/с/(я)ць бы/с/(ть). егоже невегласии г(лаго)лють. снѣдаему сущю 153; и радовахуся славяще Б(ог)а. сему же тако бывьшю 274, or, more frequently, introduced by яко, as in онѣма же пришедшима и видившима яко ему еще живу сущю. и един ею извлек мечь и пронзе ю кь с(е)р/д/цю. и тако скончася 120; и начаста гнѣватися на Олга яко не шедшю ему на поганыя с нима 219; да слышить яко Олександру Македоньскому. ополчившю [ХР ополчившуся] на Дарья. и пошедшю ему и побидившю землю всю. о/т/ въсток и до запад. и поби землю Египетьску 263, and in one example by a seemingly superfluous conjunction и and яко: и увидивьше се оканьныи С(вя)тополк. и яко еще ему дышющу. и посла два Варяга. приконьчевати его 120. The DA can also substitute for a finite verb clause in dialogue, e.g. и р(е)/ч/е има. что ради погубисте (ХР погубиста) толико чл(о)в(е)к. онима же рекшима. яко си держать гобину 166; а вама же зде мука прияти о/т/ мене. а по см(е)рти тамо. онѣма же рекшима. нама б(о)зи повѣдають. не можеши нама створити ничто же 167; р(е)/ч/е има Янь. что вам б(о)зѣ молвять. онѣма же рекьшима стати нам пред С(вя)тославом 167; и оному гл(аголю)щю ко мьнѣ удариша у било. мнѣ же рекшю прокопах уже 201. Note that three of these four examples come from the single tale about Jan′ and the sorcerers; one suspects that this may be a linguistic trace of the tale's exogenous origin. In examples like these the concept of backgrounding, which is otherwise the only universal meaning of the DA construction as a syntactic entity, gets bent somewhat out of shape: the reprise encoded in the DA is a new, narrative-advancing event, not at all stativized (see section 9 below), and the DA is not subordinated to any other clause; the only contrast being between the DA's announcement of a speech event and the following clause's quoting the speech of which the event consisted.

5.0. Defective or pseudo-defective DA constructions. Already at this time (i.e., 1425 at the latest, and probably much earlier), one finds a number of defective DA constructions. Some of the examples may be due to nothing more interesting than scribal carelessness, but one suspects that there may be more coherent structural

reasons for these "errors." A number of attested historical changes suggest themselves as structural motivations for defective constructions. For one thing, the DA construction itself, as a subordinating device, was disappearing from Rusian, a development that one might attribute i.a. to the increasing number of texts unrelated to Greek prototypes, i.e. to the decreasing influence of Greek syntactic patterns on the East Slavic textual practice. For another, the same period witnessed the development of a gerundial system supplementing the inherited system of participial expression of secondary verbal predicates, i.e., the syntactic domain of secondary predication was expanding from the noun phrase to whole clauses or sentences. Finally, the evolution of new autochtonous genres implied the gradual decay of the restraints on literary form that had formerly been imposed by inherited, religiously oriented written genres, i.e., the "mixing of stylistic levels" that becomes so obvious a problem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The defective DA constructions fall into a number of categories, which we list separately, in spite of the small number of examples in most of them, since there is a possibility that this taxonomy may be useful for subsequent analyses of later parts of the Hypatian Chronicle and of later texts. The most interesting errors consist of what might be called "shifting" into or out of dative mode.

5.1. Shifting into dative mode. The scribe can conjoin a dative nominal subject to a finite verb predicate, as in в се же время . умре Болеславу Великому [ХР болеславь великыи] в Ляцѣх 137, or can follow a nominative substantive and/ or participle by a dative substantive subject, e.g. Олег же и Борис. придоста Чернигову. мьняще одолѣвше. а земли Рускои много зла створивши/м/ 191; [Volodimer] иде Чернигову. а Ростиславь Переяславлю. и минувши велику д(ь)ни // и пришедше празднѣи недѣли. д(е)нь а/н/типасхы. м(еся)ца априля .кд. 208–09, with a gerund-like non-agreeing participle минувши followed by the dative велику д(ь)ни and then the "correct" DA пришедше празднѣи недѣли; NB that пришедше is also historically incorrect. The breakdown of the older Rusian short participle flection surely contributed to the structural instability of the DA itself.

5.2. Shifting out of dative into nominative mode. This is the reverse of the Болеславу phrase above; here, the scribe begins a DA construction with a dative substantive, but switches to a finite verb predicate (one ex. only): Володимеру же се слыша 95. Somewhat more frequent are constructions where an opening dative substantive is followed, as expected, by a participle, but by a non-agreeing one (usually nominative). Note that in these cases XP usually give the correct dative participle, i.e. the scribe of Hyp or its protograph had a weaker control of DA constructions than his colleagues working on X and P: и се да скажемь ... чего ради прозвася Печерьскыи манастырь. б(о)голюбивому князю Ярославу . любяще [ХР любящю] Берестовое. и ц(е)рк(о)вь сушую с(вя)т(ы)х ап(о)/ с/(то)л. и попы многы набдящю. и в них же бѣ прозвутерь именемь Ларион

143–44; В лѣ/т/(о) ... Ростиславу сѣдяшу вь Тмуторокани. и емлюши [XP емлюшю] дань вь Гасог [XP у Касогь] и в ыных странах. сего же убояв же ся Грѣци. послаша... 155; В се же лѣ/т/(о) бы/с/(ть). Всеволоду ловы дѣюща [XP дѣющю] звѣриныя за Вышегородомь. заметавшим тенета и людемь кликнувшим. спаде превелик змѣи с небесѣ 205; и положиша в ц(е)ркви ... Половцемь же осѣдяще [XP сѣдящем] Торочьскии [XP в Торческу]. противящем же ся Тороком. и крѣпко борющим. из града убиваху. многи 212. The Hyp scribe is slightly less inattentative in two examples in which he begins with a correct DA construction, but after one or two correct dative participles, switches to the nominative: манастырь Печерьскыи. старѣи всих. и ч(е)/с/тью боле всих. Федосьеви же живущю в манастырѣ. и правящю добродѣтельное житье. и чернѣцьское правило. и приимающе [XP приимающу] всякого приходящего к нему к нему же и аз придох 149; Изяслав и С(вя)тослав и Всеволод. вземше на плещи своя. и понесоша и. предъидушим черноризьцемь. свѣща держаще в руках. и по них дьякони с кандилы. и по семь прозвутери 171. In one example we find a dative participle followed by a nominative substantive, Всеволо/д/ же поиде противу ему. и бывшу Всеволо/д/. сѣде Борис в Черниговѣ 190. Finally, two miscellaneous constructions with no evident systematic explanation, one with an isolated dative substantive and no predicate at all, participial or finite: заповѣдав им. не преступати предѣла братня. ни сгонити рекь. Изяславу аще кто хощеть. обидити своего брата... 150 [perhaps for Изяславу же рекшю?], and the other beginning with what looks like a dativus cum infinitivo and then switching (in Hyp, not XP) to a nominative participle: [comparing a solar eclipse in Rus′ to events in Antioch:] ключися внезапу. по всему граду. за .м. д(ь)нии являтися на вьздусѣ. на коних рищющим. вь оружьи. златыя одежа // имущи [XP имущим]. и полкы обоявьляюше/м/ [XP обоамо являемы]. и оружью движащюся. се же являше нахожение Антиохово 153–54.

6.0. Meaning. It is usually said that the DA construction is a temporal or (less frequently) a causal modifier of its MC, the implication being that such meanings are expressed syntactically, by the DA construction itself. The facts do not support such a view. The only meaning that can consistently be attributed to the DA construction itself is that of backgrounding, and even that, as we saw in section 4 and will see again in section 10, is more a scalar than an absolute value. In this section we will examine the DAs which do express temporal and causal meanings, and try to determine what it is that triggers these meanings. It must be emphasized, however, that even when such a meaning can be attributed to a given DA, such attribution is not an absolute necessity, but is more in the nature of a neutral or default interpretation, with other, less expected interpretations remaining a possibility. For example, in предолженѣ/ж/ бывшѣ сѣчѣ, побѣже Олег 193, Oleg's flight, while obviously subsequent to the battle's having been continued, was quite possibly directly caused by the prolongation of the battle and the losses

suffered therein by his troops, but in the absence of specific information to this effect, the normal interpretation of the DA, prompted by the temporal participle предолженѣ/ж/, will be temporal.

6.1. Temporal meaning. A substantial number of DA constructions do indeed convey a temporal meaning. As just mentioned, this meaning does not inhere in the DA construction itself, i.e, it is not syntactic, but must be attributed entirely to lexical factors and/or to the order of elements. Lexically, temporal meaning can be expressed by the dative substantive subject (бывъши нощи 135), the dative participle (наченшю Михаилу цѣсарьствовати 12), by another element of the participial verb phrase (предолженѣ/ж/ бывшѣ сѣчѣ) or by an adverbial modifier (игумену бо преставшюся преже 203). Element order plays a role because a temporal interpretation is almost always possible in a right-oriented DA (i.e., one in which the DA precedes its main clause) such as Словеньску же языку ... живущю на Дунаи. придоша о/т/ Скуф. рекше о/т/ Козар 9, but this, again, results not from anything in the DA construction itself, but from the reader's or listener's natural tendency to assume an iconicity between the order of elements in the narrated and the speech events. Examples of the main groups of temporal DAs are given below.

6.1.1. Temporal substantives. In the following examples, the temporal meaning of the DA results from that of the dative substantive subject, combined with an existential verb participle. The simplest cases occur with a purely existential participle from быти and a substantive designating a time of day or year, a church holiday, etc., e.g. а сам ста с дружиною своею по крилома. и бывъши нощи. бы/с/(ть) тма. и громове и молъньа и // дождь 135–36; и болѣвшю ему. д(ь)нии .е. по семь бывшу вечеру и повелѣ изьнести ся на двор 176; и дружину его. всю избиша вечеру сущю тогда суботному. а Итлареви в ту нощь лежащу на синици у Ратибора. и не вѣдущу ему что ся над Китаном створи в ту нощь 218; а погребен бы/с/(ть) .ди. д(ь)нь нед(е)/л/ѣ сущи тогда с(т)р(а)/с/тьнѣи. и д(ь)ни сущу тогда четвергу великому. вонже положен бы/с/(ть) у гробѣ 207. Somewhat less purely existential (something of an event as well as a change of state) are those DAs whose participles come from the inceptive verbs стати, настати, приспѣти, приходити — прити, as in Д(а)в(ы)д приде Володимерю. ставши веснѣ. и приде Володарь 241; и въздаша хвалу Б(ог)у в т д(е)нь. и заутра суботѣ наставшѣ праздноваша Лазарево въскресенье 267; и рек сице в нощи похраните тѣло мое. якоже и створиша. вечеру же приспѣв//шю. вся братья вземше тѣло его. и положиша и в пещерѣ 178–79; низложи мя Б(ог). и смѣри мя. по семь же приходящю великому д(ь)ни. поиде Д(а)в(ы)д прияти хотя власть Василкову 241; и о/т/иде о/т/ него. семому же д(ь)ни пришед(ъ)шю изнемогаюшу Федосьеви. и призва Стефана и братью 178. Similarly, when the given period is passing or has passed: ту бо ся бѣ и постьригла у ц(е)ркви тоя. д(ѣ)вою сущи исходящю

же сему лѣту и поставиша Феоктиста епи(с)к(оп)ом Чернѣгову 274; иде Чернгову. а Ростиславь Переяславлю. и минувши велику д(ь)ни // и пришедше празднѣи недѣли. д(е)нь. а/н/типасхы. м(еся)ца . априля 208–209 (missing MC). Incidentally, it would be interesting to correlate specific verbs with the various temporal substantives. For example, in our material бывъш- occurs only with вечеръ and нощь and исходящ- only with лѣто; unfortunately, the number of examples is too small (four for бывъш-, three for исходящ-) for the data to speak convincingly.

6.1.2. Temporal verbs. Much rarer are DAs whose temporal meaning derives from that of the participle as in индикта . еи. наченшю Михаилу ц(ѣ)/с/(а)рьствовати. нача ся прозывати Руская земля 12 (in which the temporal meaning is fortified by the preceding temporal substantive индикта); приведе мастеры. о/т/ Грьк. заченшю здати. яко сконча зижа. украси ю иконами 106, or from a secondary member of the participial phrase, like и тако убьен бы/с/(ть). Изяславь с(ы)н Ярославль. предолженѣ/ж/ бывшѣ сѣчѣ. побѣже Олег 193, or even in cases where neither the participle nor the substantive, individually, has any temporal meaning, but where they together create a phrase which does: бѣ же пято/к/. тогда вьсходящю с(о)лнцю и совокупишася обои 132.

6.1.3. Temporal adverbial phrases. Least interesting of all are DAs in which a temporal meaning is expressed by a temporal adverb or prepositional phrase, e.g. се ж събы/с/(ть)ся. игумену бо преставшюся преже 203; и помроша кони у Володимерь [XP Володимера] вои. и яко еще // дышющимь конемь. сдираху хъзы с них. толик бѣ мор в конѣх 141–42; Изяславу тогда в Туровѣ княжящю а С(вя)тославу вь Володимирѣ. а Всеволод тогда у о(ть)ца бѣ бо любим о(ть)ц(е)мь 150; и абье исцѣлѣваху приходящии к нему. единою же ему разболѣвшюся. конѣц прияти. лежащю ему в болести. и приде к нему анг(е)л. вь образѣ Федосьевѣ 180; и приспѣ Федорова субота. Мьстиславу сѣдящю. на обѣдѣ. и прииде ему вѣсть 229. In none of these cases is the temporal meaning specific to the DA construction.

6.1.4. Element order. Finally, almost any DA which precedes its MC is open to a temporal interpretation prompted by the iconicity referred to above, but this temporal interpretation is not at all obligatory. For example, in и изыдоша Древляне противу. и снемъшемася обѣма полкома накупь. суну копьем С(вя)тослав 46, it is obvious that the two cohorts had come to face each other before the young Svjatoslav cast the symbolic first spear, and there is nothing to prevent a temporal interpretation of the DA ('when the regiments had come face to face', or whatever), but there is also nothing obligatory about such an interpretation. The only obligatory interpretation is that the picture of the two facing regiments is presented as static background to the narrative-advancing

суну копьем, which could be rendered in English by some nontemporal turn such as 'as the regiments stood there face to face'.

6.2. Causal meaning. Causality is only rarely the neutral interpretation of a DA construction. Like temporal meaning, it does not inhere in the syntactic DA itself. Unlike temporal meaning, however, causal meaning apparently cannot be triggered by any single dative substantive or dative participle alone, nor by any adverbial construction, since causality is but weakly encoded in the Rusian lexicon. Rather, it results from the reader's or listener's inferences about the pragmatic relations between the events narrated by the DA and by the MC as wholes ("is the event narrated in the DA likely to have caused that narrated in the MC?"); that is, causal meaning is even less identifiable on strictly linguistic grounds than was temporal meaning, which could at least be attributed in many cases to specific lexical items. This affirmation can be confirmed by examining several types of causal meaning that show vagaries more characteristic of pragmatics than of linguistics. One must note in passing that the DA event can be a precondition necessary to the MC event without being sufficient for the occurrence of the latter. For example, in и послаша по ню. Деревляном же пришедъши/м/. повелѣ Олга мовницю створити 45, had the Derevljane whom Ol′ga intended to burn alive not arrived in Kyiv, she would not have ordered the fatal bathhouse to be set up, but her reason for doing so was not their arrival, but the fact that the Derevljane had earlier killed her husband Igor′. Similarly, in и посади ... Ярослава в Ростовѣ. и умершю же старѣишому. Вышеславу в Новѣгородѣ. и посади Ярослава в Новѣгородѣ 105, there would have been no vacant throne in Novgorod had Vyšeslav not died, but his death was at most a partial explanation for Volodimir's choice of Jaroslav as his successor there. In Князю С(вя)тославу възрастьшю. и възмужавшю. нача воя съвокупляти 52, Svjatoslav had to grow up and become a man before he could start gathering troops, but he could have elected a less military career had he so wished.

6.2.1. Divine causation. To the medieval Rusian, the most obvious causation is due to the will of the deity, as seen in како ум(н)ожать/с/(я) осквернять землю ... и <u>Б(ог)у повелѣвшю</u> соступишася о них горы полунощьныя 226; нача понужати Феоктист С(вя)тополка кн(я)зя. вопсати Федосья. в синаник. <u>Б(ог)у тако изволшю.</u> С(вя)тополк же рад бы/с/(ть) 259; а дьявол радуеться злому убииству кровопролитью. вьздвизая свары. зависти братоненавидѣния клеветы. земли же согрѣшивши которѣи любо. то <u>казнить Б(о)г . см(е)ртью или гладом</u> 157; in this last example, the DA expresses the causation, although God appears only in the MC. In и не почютиша их Половьцѣ. <u>Б(ог)у схраншю их</u>. исполъчившася поидоста 221, the causal meaning of Б(ог)у схраншю их is equally obvious, although it is not clear whether this causality is directed toward the preceding не почютиша их Половьцѣ, the following исполъчившася поидоста, or both; this is a problem

in the discourse function of the DA, which will be discussed in 8.3 below.

6.2.2. Other causality. The vagueness associated with the extralinguistic nature of causal interpretation is especially clear in examples where such an interpretation falls somewhere in an undefinable territory between possible and probable. For example, did the Greeks in яко водою обновление буде/т/(ь). ап(о)/с/(то)ло/м/ же учащи/м/ по вселеннеи вѣровати Б(ог)у. и/х/ же учение и мы Греци приахо/м/ 92 accept Christianity only or primarily because the apostles had been preaching the faith throughout the known world? Was the famine in яко се скажемь бѣсовьское наущение. и дѣиство. бывши бо единою скудости вь Ростовьстѣи области. и вьстаста. два волъхва 164 not only a necessary, but also a sufficient condition for the appearance of the sorcerers? The causal connection seems quite clear in Печенѣгом идущим на Русь. и посла противу им Бориса 115, but in и начаша тивунѣ его грабите [ХР грабити] люди и продаяти. сему не вѣдущю у болѣзнѣх своих 208 the prince's illness may have permitted but certainly did not cause his lieutenants to steal from the people. These and similar examples may lead to interesting speculation on the varieties of possibility and necessity, but they seem unlikely to tell us much about the history of Russian, especially since causality can be "reversed," i.e. the DA event may not cause, but rather be caused by the following example, as in Половьцѣ же начаша воевати около Чернигова. Олговѣ [ХР Олгови] не возбраняющю. бѣ бо сам повелѣл им воевати 217 and яко се бы/с/(ть) другыи черноризець. именем Исакии. яко еще сущю в мирьском житьи. и б(ог)ату сущю ему. бѣ бо купець родом Торопчанин 182. In such cases, the бѣ бо clause would appear to be not a MC to the DA, but rather subordinated to the DA, which must then be left-oriented (see 7.2 below). In general, a causal interpretation seems to be furthered by an anaphoric connection between the DA and the MC, e.g. DA апостолом—MC их же 92, DA печенегом—MC им in 115, vs. the absence of anaphora in 164.

7.1. Verbal semantics and tense in the past active participle. DA clauses show a rather unexpected interaction between the existential—nonexistential distinction in verbal semantics, on the one hand, and the range of meanings assignable to the past tense marker in participles, on the other. Non-existential past active participles, as expected, generally signify that the DA event preceded that of the MC, e.g. и изыдоша Древляне противу. и снемъшемася обѣма полкома накупь. суну копьем С(вя)тослав 46, where the opposing battalions were drawn up face to face before the young prince cast the first, symbolic lance. When the participle is formed from an existential verb, however, the meaning of the past tense shifts from simple anteriority to resultativeness, i.e. to the meaning more usually associated either with the second past active or *l*-participle, namely, the meaning of a resultant state, or with one use of the aorist бысть, designating a change of state with the continuation of the changed state. For example, in и повелѣ Олег

воем свои/м/. колеса изъдѣлати. и въставити корабля на колеса. и бывшю покосну вѣтру. успяша прѣ с поля. и идяше к городу 21, the favorable breeze obviously arose before it could propel Oleg's ships across the fields toward Constantinople, but it was equally obviously still blowing as it did so. The poor crop yield around Rostov referred to in the DA of яко се скажемь бѣсовьское наущение. и дѣиство. бывши бо единою скудости вь Ростовьстѣи области. и вьстаста. два волъхва 164 had occurred earlier, but the ensuing scarcity continued to exist while the sorcerers were tormenting the local women for hoarding. In а сам ста с дружиною своею по крилома. и бывъши нощи. бы/с/(ть) тма. и громове и молъньья и // дождь 135–36, night obviously had to have fallen for it to have been dark, but it was still night when the thunderstorm occurred. In such cases it is not clear that the past participle actually expresses anteriority at all (at least not in relation to the MC); that is, one might just as reasonably translate 'while it was night' or 'during the night' as 'when night had fallen', a situation reminiscent of the imperfective past active participle in nineteenth-century literary Russian, where the expressed anteriority could be relative to either the narrated event or the speech event. This in turn suggests that бывъш- functions much as one might expect from an imperfective, not a perfective verb. The perfective resultative interpretation (changed then continuing state) and the imperfective stative interpretation (existing state coterminous with the MC event) are equally plausible, and there does not seem to be any objective reason for preferring one over the other. Under the imperfective interpretation, the past tense marker must be considered vacuous, at least in relation to the MC event, and there is no temporal distinction whatsoever between the бывъши of бывъши нощи in the example above and the сущу of а погребен бы/с/(ть) .ди. д(ь)нь нед(е)/л/ѣ сущи тогда с(т)р(а)/с/тьнѣи. и д(ь)ни сущу тогда четвергу великому. вонже положен бы/с/(ть) у гробѣ 207, in which Maundy Thursday had begun earlier but continued throughout the burial of Vsevolod Jaroslavič. What is clear is that in the case of existential past active participles, one of these two interpretations (both of which deny the anteriority of the DA participle to the MC verb)—and not the otherwise usual anterior interpretation—is the neutral one. A few additional examples: Исаку же бывшю. лѣ/т/. ѯ/. роди два с(ы)на 80; и възрастъшю же ему. и бывшю ему лѣ/т/. л. нача чюдеса творити 89; по .г. [тре]х же лѣ/т/(ѣ)х. миру бывшю. и пущен бы/с/(ть). Вышата. вь Русь к Ярославу 142; Исакии же вьсприя дерьзновение и вьздержание жестоко. Федосью же преставившюся. и Стефану в него мѣсто бывшю. Исакии же рече 186; товары своя постави на Рудици. вечеру же бывшю прииде в товар свои 232; мнози чл(о)в(ѣ)ци бл(а)говѣрнии видѣша кр(е)/с/т ... узвышьшиися вельми. брани же велицѣ бывши. и многим падающим. о/т/ обою полку. видѣ С(вя)тополк яко люта брань... 245. The existential non-anterior interpretation can be overridden (i.e., an anterior interpretation can be forced) only when the MC statement is lexically antonymic to that of the DC, as in тако же б(о)жественую ризу с(вя)тыя Б(огороди)ца. с пѣсьнѣми изнесъше. в

рѣку омочиша. тишинѣ сущи. и морю укротившюся. абье буря с вѣтро/м/ въста 15 and и сѣдоша в едином шатрѣ. С(вя)тополк с своею дружиною. а Володимер с своею. и бывшу молчанью. и рече Володимер брате 265. The curious thing about such examples is that it is the lexicon, or its pragmatic referents, that determine grammatical meaning.

When быти occurs in a DA not in an existential but in a copular function, the past tense marking is not attenuated and a resultative interpretation is weaker or non-existent. For example, in Глѣбу же убьену и повѣржену бывшю на брезѣ. межю двѣима кладома. по сем же вьземше. и. везоша и 124, бывшю appears not as an existential verb but purely as a grammatical tense marker in a passivized compound phrase (derived from something like *X уби и поверже Глѣба ...). In the rare cases when a DA, expressing the place where its subject is located, occurs in the past and not the present participle (see 7.2 below), the location statement is still valid when the MC event occurs: и поидоста противу. и бывшим и/м/ на мѣсьтѣ на Нѣжатини нивѣ и совокупившимъся обоим. бы/с/(ть) сѣча зла 192. Similarly, when the DA subject refers to an activity (whether by a deverbative substantive or by other means), this activity can continue into the period when the MC event occurs, as with the battle in призываху Б(ог)а вышняго. и бывшю же соступу и брани крѣпцѣ. Б(ог) вышнии возрѣ на иноплеменникы со гнѣвом 267, where one must assume that God looked with disfavor on the foreigners not after, but during the fierce battle.

7.2. Existentiality and tense selection. The interaction of the existential-nonexistential use of быти and the tense marking of the DA participle can also be seen in the coocurrence restrictions on (a) tense marking in the participle and (b) the semantics of the DA's dative subject, namely, whether this substantive, conjoined with быти, forms an existential predicate. Statements about the simple existence of something (a time of day, a battle or quarrel or famine, etc.)—that is, statements in which the predicate has a single, nominal actant (which can include an attribute, e.g. брань зла, туга велика)—tend very strongly to occur with the past participle бывъш-, e.g. и изидоша противу въоружившеся на Грѣкы. и брани межю има бывши злѣ. одва одолѣша Грѣци 33; и съступишася битъ. и бывши брани межи ими. одолѣ С(вя)тослав Козаро/м/ 53; мнози чл(о)в(ѣ)ци бл(а)говѣрнии видѣша кр(е)/с/т ... узвышьшиися вельми. брани же велицѣ бывши. и многым падающим. о/т/ обою полку. видѣ С(вя)тополк яко люта брань ... 245; и приде к Бѣлугороду Всеслав. бывшю [XP бывши] нощи утаися Кыан 162; впаде в болезнь и разболѣвшюся ему. и болѣвшю ему. д(ь)нии .е. по семь бывшу вечеру и повелѣ изьнести ся на двор 176, and similarly 232 (but, exceptionally, поѣхаша ко граду. вечеру сущю и в недѣлю выидоша из города 266, in which the left-oriented DA contradicts the assumptions, discussed above, of iconicity between the order of narrated and speech events, thus eliminating the assumption that evening had begun before, but continued during the MC event); по .г. [тре]х же лѣ/т/(ѣ)х. миру бывшю. и пущен бы/с/(ть Вышата. вь Русь к Ярославу 142; Въздвиже дьявол котору вь братьи

сеи Ярославличих. и. бывши распре межи ими. быста сь себе С(вя)тослав со Всеволодом. на Изяслава 172; similarly, with покосну вѣтру 21, скудости 164, свѣту 184, молчанью 265, дожгьцю ... и тучи велиции 278. The only counterexample for which no reasonable explanation suggests itself is тако же б(о)жественую ризу с(вя)тыя Б(огороди)ца. с пѣсьнѣми изнесъше. в рѣку омочиша. тишинѣ сущи. и морю укротившюся. абье буря с вѣтро/м/ въста 15.

If the DA notes not the simple existence of something, but a more complex predication including a predicate adjective (that is, if the underlying predication is an equation of the type substantive = adjective), only the present participle сущ- is permitted: Преставися князь Рускии Ярославь. и еще живу сущю ему наряди с(ы)ны своя рекы им. се аз о/т/хожю свѣта сего 149, similarly 120 and probably 182, where живу is however omitted; и положиша и на одрѣ и шестому д(ь)ни наставшю. и болну сущю велми. приде к нему С(вя)тослав. сь с(ы)ном своим Глѣбом 177–78, similarly 150; яко се бы/с/(ть) другыи черноризець. именемь Исакии. яко еще сущю в мирьском житьи. и б(ог)ату сущю ему. бѣ бо купець родом Торопчанин 182. The present participle also predominates when the predicative adjective is itself participial, e.g. с(о)лнце прѣменися. не бы/с/(ть) свѣтло. но акы м(е)/с/(я)ць бы/с/(ть). егоже невегласии г(лаго)лють. снѣдаему сущю 153 (a different kind of DA, cf. 4 above, but the same rules apply); и приидоша на манастырь Печерьскыи. нам сущим по кѣльям почивающим по заутрени. и кликоша около манастыря 222; и приидоста к Володимеру. Володимеру сущю. с вои стоящю у бору. Володимер же и Д(а)в(ы)д и Олег послаша мужѣ свои 236 (these last two examples also belong in the "location" type discussed below). There are, however, two counterexamples, in which the motivation for the past participle бывъш- is not clear, although one does note that both are paired with past passive participles, e.g. Глѣбу же убьену и повѣржену бывшю на брезѣ. межю двѣима кладома. по сем же вьземше. и. везоша и 124; и тако убьен бы/с/(ть). Изяславь с(ы)н Ярославль. предолженѣ/ж/ бывшѣ сѣчѣ побѣже Олег 193. It might be tempting to take these at face value, as pluperfect constructions ('when Gleb had been killed and thrown on the bank', 'the battle having been continued'), but the complexities of tense use with бывъш- suggest that this might be simplistic.

The present participle сущ- is equally predominant when the predicate contains a prepositional phrase expressing location. With toponyms and their equivalents, only сущ- is permitted: В лѣ/т/(о) ... Ярославу сущю в Новѣгородѣ. приде Мьстислав 134, similarly 114, 134, 135, 138; В лѣ/т/(о) ... Приде Ярослав кь Берестью. вь си же времена Мьстиславу сущю в Тмуторокани. и поиде на Касогы 134; [the church was founded by a series of church figures, ending with:] еп(и)/с/(коп)ом Михаилом. митрополиту Георгиеви тогда сущю. вь Грѣцѣх. а С(вя)тославу в Кыевѣ сѣдящю 173; поиде Мурому. у Муромѣ тогда сущю Изяславу. [услыша?] яко Олег идеть 226; цѣловаше

[ХР цѣловаша] хрест [*sic*] межи собою. мир створше. Василкови же сущю в Володимери. на прѣжереченом мѣстѣ. яко приближися пост великыи 239, similarly 239 bis. With locations other than toponyms: се аз о/т/хожю о/т/ вас. яко же яви ми Г(о)/с/(под)ь. в постьное время. в пещерѣ ми сущю изыити о/т/ свѣта сего 176; яко се бы/с/(ть) другыи черноризець. именем Исакии. яко еще сущю в мирьском житьи. и б(о)гату сущю ему. бѣ бо купець родом Торопчанин 182. Here too, however, there are exceptions, obviously in и поидоста противу. и бывшим и/м/ на мѣсьтѣ на Нѣжатини нивѣ и совокупившимъся обоим. бы/с/(ть) сѣча зла 192; location is less specific in но мы на преже реченое. узвратѣмься. княгини же бывши у Володимера. и прииде Кыеву 238.

8.0. Discourse functions. The need to examine the discourse functions of the DA arises from the incompatibility of (1) the general assumption that the DA is a subordinate clause and (2) clear evidence that in later stages of Rusian and middle Russian the DA can clearly substitute for a finite verb clause; indeed, a complex narrative scene can be rendered by a cluster of DAs, i.e. in the already-cited Єму же поручивше [for поручившю, DSW] по смерти свою волость. дая князю Данилови. Татаром же бѣгающим. Данилови же избивающи [for избивающю, DSW] их своим полком. и Олгови Курьскому крѣпко бившимся [for бившюся, DSW]. инѣм полком. сразившимся с ними грѣх ради наших. Руским полком побѣженым бывшим. ... 744 (s.a. 1224, i.e. in the Galician part of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle), where we see seven participial predicates in a row, six of them DAs, three of the latter with incoherent morphology. It would be a vain exercise to seek main clauses for these DAs or to show that they are subordinated to each other. Such clusters of DAs substituting for finite verb clauses may be interpreted, generously, as a deliberately chosen stylistic device intended to render the immediacy and nonsequential confusion of the transpiring events, or, less generously, as a sign that the scribe was not fully in charge of his own syntax.[3] We will return to DA developments in the Kievan and Galician-Volhynian at a later date. For now, we will only suggest that the seeds of such stylistic fruit can be found in the older, PVL section of Hyp; DAs could, of course, have been added or revised in later redactions.

The discourse function of the DA depends partly on whether the main clause to which it is subordinated is located to its right or to its left. More importantly, this function depends on whether or not one can really claim that the DA is subordinate to any other single clause at all (the alternative being that the DA represents a backgrounded situation obtaining at some point in a chain of narrated events but not specifically tied to any one of these events, a situation best illustrated by temporal DAs like бывъши нощи 135). We suggest that DAs can, in fact, be described as lying on a "scale of narrative participation," at one end of which are purely situational expressions like бывъши суботѣ, and at the other end such DAs as убивъшим им Бориса, the function of which is to turn a

narrative-advancing event (они убиша Бориса) into a backgrounded situation. If the surrounding text does not carry an unambiguous indication of what the DA is subordinated *to* (i.e., if it is "syntactically free"), it can easily lose its backgrounding function and approach that of any other narrative-advancing form such as a nominal participial (or later, a gerundial) clause or a finite verb form; cf. in this context the traditional tension between co- and subordination in OCS phrases like въставъ и рече.

8.1. Right-oriented DAs. We begin by examining the structure of the more usual right-oriented DAs, and will then examine those which are left-oriented or bidirectional. Although we shall be looking at specific syntactic and lexical features, it bears repeating that the assumption of iconicity between the order of narrated and of speech events will "tilt" our reading toward right orientation even in the absence of features which permit no other interpretation. In addition, the reader or listener is surely affected by his general pragmatic realization that earlier events are more likely to condition later events than the reverse.

The most obvious, if not the most startling, objective marker of a right-oriented DA is a major syntactic break just before the DA, e.g. .:. Поляном же живущи/м/ осо/б/(ѣ). по горам сим.// и бѣ путь из Варяг в Грѣкы 5–6; .:. Словеньску же языку. як/о/ же ркохо/м/ живущю на Дунаи. придоша о/т/ Скуф. рекше о/т/ Козар 9; such a break can be occasioned by an authorial intrusion, as in яко се скажемь бѣсовьское наущение. и дѣиство. бывши бо единою скудости вь Ростовьстѣи области. и вьстаста. два волъхва 164. If the DA is a time statement, the structure is invariably right-oriented, barring only those cases where the DA is followed by a major break (i.e., the reverse of the situation just described), for example, и зимова С(вя)тослав. веснѣ же приспѣвъши. поиде С(вя)тослав в порогы 61; бѣ же пято/к/. тогда вьсходящю с(о)лнцю и совокупишася обои 132; и рек сице в нощи похраните тѣло мое. якоже и створиша. вечеру же приспѣв//шю. вся братья вземше тѣло его. и положиша и в пещерѣ 178–79; cf. however the obligatory left orientation when the DA is followed by a major break, as in и посади в него мѣсто брата его С(вя)тополка а Всеславу же бѣжавшю. [followed by (an editor's) paragraph break, then В лѣ/т/(о)] 163. Aside from these text-level markers, the triggers for right orientation are pragmatic, namely the reader's assumption that the DA narrated event or state is a necessary precondition (but not always a sufficient one, see 6.2 above) for those of the finite clause on its right, e.g. и волнам великым въставши/м/ засобь. и безъбожных Руси корабля смяте 15; В лѣ/т/(о) ... Хотящю ити Володимѣру на Ярослава [.] Ярослав же посла за море. и приведе Варягы 115; Олег же и Борис бяшета в Черниговѣ. Чернѣговцемь же не отворящимся. приступиша ко граду 192; а сам бѣжа в Ляхи. Володимеру же пришедшу к Луч(е)ску. даша/с/(я) Лучанѣ 197.

8.2. Left-oriented DAs. Objective markers of left-oriented DAs are, in general, the mirror image of those marking right orientation. A major break immediately

following a DA forces left orientation, e.g. и многы варягы съвокуписта. и начаста владѣти Польскою землею. Рюрику же княжащю в Новѣгородѣ 15 [followed by .:. and a new yearly date]; и посади в него мѣсто брата его С(вя)тополка а Всеславу же бѣжавшю. [Paragraph, then В лѣ/т/(о) ...] 163; се же бы/с/(ть) исходящю лѣ/т/[у] ./s.х.д. 230. Similarly, if what follows the DA is a temporal clause, the DA is obligatorily left-oriented, since the arrival of any particular temporal segment (evening, day, year...) can hardly be conceived of as an event to which a preceding situation can be backgrounded: В лѣ/т/(о) ... С(вя)щена бы/с/(ть) ц(е)рки с(вята)го Михаила манастыря. Всеволожа митрополитомь Иаономь и еп(и)/с/(ко)пы/м/ [*sic*; ХР еп(и)/с/к(о)пы] Лукою. Исаемь. игуменьство тогда держащу того манастыря. Лазореви. том же лѣтѣ иде С(вя)тополк 199; поѣхаша ко граду. вечеру сущю и в недѣлю выидоша из города 266. And, as was the case with right orientation, a left-oriented interpretation can be imposed by pragmatic factors, as in и начаша тивунѣ его грабите [ХР грабити] люди и продаяти . сему не вѣдущю у болѣзнѣх своих 208 [what else could the prince not have known?]; и побѣгнете никому же не женющю по вас 213; и трѣсну аки гром. сразившима челома. и брань бы/с/(ть) люта межи ими 267 [the collision of helmeted heads is a more likely explanation for the thunderous noise than for the subsequent fierce battle]; и приидоста дну в пещеру нам сѣдящим у мощѣи е/г/(о). егда бо прокопах... 202 [the author could not have been sitting at the same time he was digging].

8.3. Bi- and nondirectional DAs. In a number of DAs, it is not possible unambiguously to connect the participial clause with main clauses either to the right or to the left. In such cases the DA clause interrupts the sequence of narrated events, providing backgrounded information as equally relevant to the preceding as to the following finite clause, for example, *сии же идоша на княжь двор.* Изяславу сѣдящю на сенѣх. с дружиною своею. и начаша прѣтися сь князємь стояще долѣ 160; поях с собою .в. бр(а)/т/а. не вѣдущю никому же. приидо/х/ в пещеру 201; и не почютиша их Половьцѣ. Б(ог)у схранщю их. испольчившася поидоста 221; и приидоша на манастырь Печерьскыи. нам сущим по кѣльям почивающим по заутрени. и кликоша около манастыря 222; и вдаша попадьи испрати. попадья же оправъши узволоче на нь. онѣм обѣдающим. и плакатися нача попадья 235; и бы/с/(ть) сбор велик. сшедшюся народу с всих стран Митрополит Микифор [there follows a list of eminences] и прочии игумени. и ос(вя)тиша ц(е)рк(о)вь каменую 280; се аз о/т/хожю о/т/ вас. яко же яви ми Г(о)/с/(под)ь. в постьное время. в пещерѣ ми сущю изыити о/т/ свѣта сего 176 (in which the DA itself is oriented toward the clause яви ми Г(о)/с/(под)ь ... изыити о/т/ свѣта сего, which it separates into two sections). In such examples the situation expressed by the DA is relevant to a section of narrative more extensive than a single finite verb clause, although in some cases there may be pragmatic reasons for preferring one orientation to the other, as in the example above и не почютиша их Половьцѣ

... 235, where God's protection is more relevant to the Rusians' not having been discovered than to their drawing up their ranks. Overall, it seems reasonable to assume that the relative syntactic independence of DAs which cannot be interpreted as either right- or left-oriented was a factor enabling their use as substitutes for finite verb clauses.

9. The DA as stativizer. When a DA is formed from an existential verb, it expresses a situation presented as background information to whatever narrative element or elements it is contiguous to or surrounded by (right-, left-, or bidirectional). When it is formed from a non-existential verb, the DA's function is more complex: in addition to its backgrounding function, the DA in such cases presents a nonstative verb (roughly, an action verb) as a stative one. For example, in the examples В лѣ/т/(о) ... Иде Володимир на Ховраты [*sic*]. пришедшю же ему с воины Хорватьскои. и се Печенѣзѣ придоша по онои сторонѣ 106 and Олег же и Борис бяшета в Черниговѣ. Чернѣговцемь же не отворящимся. приступиша ко граду 192, neither arriving nor failing to open the city gates can in itself be construed as stative, but the DA construction itself clearly results in precisely this construal. Nowhere is this interpretation more obvious than in the half-dozen or so examples in our text in which an action verb appears in a finite, narrative-advancing clause, and is then reprised in the form of a DA and thus as a stative situation backgrounded to a following finite verb clause: и кр(е)/с/тися в Иерданѣ о/т/ Ивана. показая новым люде/м/ обновление. // кр(е)/с/тившю ж/е/ ся ему. и се о/т/вѣрзошася н(е)б(е)са 89–90; и яста ся бороти крѣпко. и на долзѣ борющимся [ХР борющемася] . има. и. нача изнемогати Мьстислав 134; и Всеслав с(ы)н его сѣде на столѣ его. егоже роди м(а)ти о/т/ волъхвования. м(а)т(е)ри бо родивши его. и бы/с/(ть) ему язва на главѣ его 143; вь ѣденьи бо мьнозѣ и вь питьи безмернѣ възрастають помысли лукавии. помыслом же възрастьшимь. створяеться грѣх 174; бѣ бо я послал до Лучька. онѣм же пошедшим Лучьску. Туряг бѣжал Кыеву 242; князи и вои моляху Б(ог)а ...ови же манастырем трѣбованья. и сице молящимъся. поидоша Половьци 254.

10. A scale of narrative advancement. The examples analyzed throughout this paper suggest that several factors, both linguistic (not only syntactic and grammatical, but to a surprising degree lexical) and pragmatic, determine the extent to which a given DA is perceived as advancing the narrative, that is, as an event which (backgrounded or not) helps to carry the story forward. DA participles formed from existential verbs mitigate against narrative advancement, while those from action verbs favor it (cf. бывъшю vs. бивъшимся). Among existential dative participial phrases, those in which the participle combines with a temporal substantive mitigate against narrative advancement, while those combining with action substantives favor it (веснѣ vs. брани). Bidirectional orientation favors narrative advancement, since the DA is less clearly subordinated

(backgrounded) to a specific finite verb clause than with either left or right orientation and can more easily be perceived as an independent narrative development, i.e., the association of the DA with backgrounding is lost. Between left and right orientations, the left is narrative retarding, since it stops the progression of events by looking backward toward a prior event, while the right tends to carry the narration forward. Additionally, a role is surely played by a factor there is no time to examine here, namely, the presence or absence of a conjunction joining the DA clause to the MC. And finally, the reader's or listener's response to the pragmatic relations among events must play its own important, sometimes even decisive role. All of these elements deserve far more searching analysis than we have been able to provide in this introductory sketch.

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NOTES

1. I am grateful to Emily Klenin for discussion and comments on earlier drafts of this article. Any residual opacity is my own.

2. Examples are identified by column as published in Hyp [1908] 1962. Final back jers are omitted, graphics and punctuation are simplified, superscripts are put on-line in slant brackets, and omitted letters supplied in parentheses. References to the Xlebnikov (X) and Pogodin (P) MSS are adduced only when they elucidate the reading in Hyp. Comments by the author of this article are in square brackets.

Notes on the Text of Ivan Vyšens'kyj's *Epistle to the Renegade Bishops*

HARVEY GOLDBLATT

1. The *Epistle to the Renegade Bishops* (hereafter *ERB*)[1] is generally considered one of the most remarkable works of Ruthenian literature produced in response to the church union declared at Brest (Berestja) in 1596.[2] According to its heading, *ERB* was written by the "monk of Vyšnja from the Holy Mountain" and addressed to Archbishop Michael Rahoza as well as Bishops Ipatius Potij [Hypatius Potej], Cyril Terlec'kyj, Leontius Pel'čyc'kyj, Dionysius Zbyruis'kyj, and Gregory Zaborovs'kyj—that is, the six "renegade bishops" who had accepted union with the Roman church—in the hope "that the memory of repentance and the fear of hell and the future judgment be sent down from heaven by the all-seeing triune divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."[3] Thus, like that of other writings composed by Ivan Vyšens'kyj on Mount Athos and sent to the Ruthenian lands, the ultimate aim of this "epistle" was to underscore not only the certainty of divine retribution but also the possibility of repentance, cleansing from sin, and everlasting salvation.[4]

ERB, which did not appear in print during Vyšens'kyj's lifetime—indeed, it was not published until 1865[5]—is found in at least four manuscripts that also contain other "original" writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj:[6]

(1) The L'viv copy. [L] (LNB, Collection of Monastery Manuscripts, no. 3), Ruthenian, seventeenth century, fols. 268r–316v. This copy is defective in two places and lacks an ending. In L, *ERB* is presented as chapter 5 of the *Book of Monk Ivan Vyšens'kyj from the Holy Athonite Mountain.*[7] The table of contents (found only in L) also defines *ERB* as chapter 5. On the other hand, although the table of contents indicates that there are ten chapters in the *Knižka,* the text of L concludes near the end of chapter 5.

(2) The Tolstoy copy. [T] (GPB, Collection of F. A. Tolstoy, no. Q.I.243), Russian, early eighteenth century, fols. 56r–116v. This copy is also defective but does have the ending missing in L. In T, *ERB* is presented with other textual units of the *Knižka* (i.e., the ten "chapters" referred to in L), but is not considered a "chapter."

(3) The Uvarov copy. [U] (GIM, Collection of A. S. Uvarov, no. 2009 [632/486]), Russian, early nineteenth century, fols. 439r–518v. In this Old Believer testimony, the ending of *ERB* is missing. *ERB* is found together with textual material from what are referred to in L as chapters 1–4 of the *Knižka* and, as in L, the textual material from the *Knižka* ends here.[8] Unlike L, however, the textual material connected with the *Knižka* is also accompanied by other writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj: three works found only here and in other Old Believer copies (i.e., *Epistle to the L'viv Confraternity, Epistle to Sister*

Domnikija, and Epistle to Iov Knjahynyc'kyj) and three additional works found nowhere else—namely, the *Terse Reply to Piotr Skarga, the Quarrel of a Wise Latin with a Foolish Rusyn,* and the *Spiritual Spectacle.*

(4) The Museum Copy. [M] (GBL, fond 178, Museum Collection, no. 4151), Russian, late eighteenth century, fols. 45ᵛ–69ʳ. This testimony is the only Old Believer copy (other than U) that offers textual excerpts from what is regarded elsewhere as "chapter 5" of the *Knižka.* However, these textual excerpts, which are found together with material from "chapter 2" and "chapter 3" of the *Knižka,* are arranged in a sequence totally different from that found in L, T, and U.

The earliest extant textual documentation (in particular, L and T) attests to the fact that *ERB* became a "chapter" of a larger collection (i.e., the *Knižka*) which, according to I. P. Eremin, was compiled and sent to "all pious people living in Little Rus'" sometime between 1599 and 1601.[9] This does not mean, however, that it was necessarily written especially for that collection. Moreover, insofar as the textual material of *ERB* is concerned, later testimonies (U and M) indicate that the larger context of the *Knižka* seems to have lost its importance among the Old Believers. Indeed, it appears that other "convoys" came to play a more important role for *ERB.*[10]

On the basis of internal evidence, Eremin established the date of composition for *ERB* between early 1597 and the middle of 1599.[11] According to Eremin, moreover, specific references to historical events permit us to conclude that *ERB* was compiled sometime in 1598.[12] However, like many other writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj, *ERB* betrays a composite character, that is, what we observe here is the threading of separate and quasi-autonomous textual entities that differ in genre into a thematic unity.[13] In other words, the text of *ERB* seems to betray the features of an "open tradition," which maximized the possibility that an "original text" might have been reshaped in accordance with new conceptual or rhetorical needs.[14] More specifically, we can observe in *ERB* the combination of preexistent textual entities put together in a new "context" and marked by shifts from one "narrative mode" to another. One should not forget, in this regard, that throughout *ERB* abundant signals are provided that mark the boundaries or junctures between textual portions.[15] Given this situation, one wonders whether it is appropriate to assume that a dating for an individual textual unit can be generalized to include the entire text.

2. Since the time of Ivan Franko,[16] scholars have observed that *ERB* has come down to us in two "redactions."[17] The "abbreviated redaction," first identified by Franko, is included as "chapter" 10 of another "book" (*Knižica*) which had been printed in Ostroh in 1598 to oppose the Union of Brest[18] and which, according to Myxajlo Voznjak, may have served as a model for Vyšens'kyj's *Knižka* (also consisting of ten "chapters").[19] The tenth "chapter" of the Ostroh volume (fols. 126ᵛ–136ʳ) is presented as an "epistle" (hereafter cited as *E*) sent by Ruthenian monks inhabiting the houses and sketes of Mount Athos (*ot svjatoe Afonskoe hory skitstvujuščix i o car'stvii Xristovî nudjaščixsja ot strany vašee*) and is

addressed to "pious" Prince Ostroz'kyj (*blahočestivomu knjažati Vasiliju*), the defender of Eastern Christianity, as well as all Orthodox Christians (*vsîm xristianom pravoslavnym*) of every rank and class, both clergy and laity, "found in the Polish land" (*obrîtajuščemsja ešče v Ljadskoj zemli*).[20] According to Franko, an analysis of the contents of *E* in comparison with the writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj suggests that (i) *E* undoubtedly belongs to Vyšens'kyj and (ii) it represents the "kernel" of what would later appear as "chapter 5" of the *Knižka.*

The text of *E* can be divided into ten brief sections according to the following distribution of themes:

(1) The holy faith of Rus' has been betrayed by those who were ordained to illuminate the church with the light of the evangelical life and not to spread darkness, deception, and temptation [329.15–330.1].

(2) The pious Orthodox should not be surprised or dismayed by this betrayal but should remain unshakable in their faith, which is the "head" that must be preserved at all costs.[21] By staying with Christ, we prepare ourselves for the eternal life beyond. In so doing, we emulate Saint Paul who, at the time of his departure, proclaimed to Timothy, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith" [2 Tim. 4.7] [330.1–14].

(3) It is said that we cannot preserve the faith without those pastors who have deserted Orthodoxy, but this is not true. We can manage without them, because God has removed them from the church and dishonored them. We must first show you with this epistle that they were not pastors or teachers or faithful believers but deceivers and robbers who through the force of their craftiness, human help, and gold and silver have occupied their thrones. They have climbed in through a hole and not entered by the door [Jn. 10.1–2] [330.14–28].

(4) Because they ascended to the episcopate but were not called by God, that is, by the light of a pure life and humility, and were not granted the gift of the Holy Spirit, the fruit they bear is nothing but deception and temptation [cf. Mt. 7.17] [330.28–35].

(5) Whoever wishes to ascend to the episcopate should first observe Christ's commandments through good deeds while still a layman [330.35–39].

(6) It is then proper for him to renounce the world and voluntarily accept poverty in accordance with Christ's teachings [cf. Mt. 10.37] [330.39–331.1].

(7) None of those bishops has followed Christ's commandments either now or when they were laymen. None of them has renounced the world. They have decided not to endure the tribulations through which we must enter the kingdom of God but have accepted Latin tranquillity, glory, and papal honor [cf. Lk. 6.22–23; Acts 15.22] [331.1–30].

(8) No one who is engrossed in worldly matters can free himself from their deception. For this reason, we should live in accordance with apostolic teachings which tell us to escape from the world, not touch its uncleanliness, and love quietude so that we can know God and see his glory with our mind [331.30–332.10].

(9) The Orthodox faithful should not follow the faith of deception but adhere to piety. They should know that all other faiths are called "faiths" but are mere deception. Not a single one of them contains the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Only the true Eastern faith offers salvation to those in search of God's mercy [332.10–24].

(10) It is thus better for you to devote yourself to all the sorrowful utterances of Christ in this age on behalf of the faith, and to carry within yourself the cross of Christ, so that you become like those hermits in the mountains, caves, and earthly abysses and receive eternal life in the future age [332.24–30].

3. It is important to emphasize that Franko never actually referred to chapter 10 of the Ostroh volume as an "abbreviated redaction" of *ERB*. For Franko, instead, the earlier text provided a synopsis or summary of ideas that would later be expanded and transformed into a much larger work addressed to the "renegade bishops." Indeed, it is hardly appropriate to define *E* as an "abbreviated redaction" of chapter 5 of the *Knižka* when the relationship between the two texts (i) relies on common motifs rather than common textual material and (ii) most certainly involves much more than an intentional "reworking" of a text that seeks not to violate its essential thematic and structural individuality.[22] As Eremin noted, Franko's analysis of *E* reveals themes that are not only similar to what is found in *ERB* but are also typical of other writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj. One should be cautious, therefore, about establishing, beyond any doubt, a genetic relationship between *E* and *ERB*.

The fact is that even if we were to attribute *E* to Vyšens'kyj, we would be hard pressed to postulate the existence of an "original text" based on the extant textual documentation. As Eremin pointed out, the version of *E* placed in the Ostroh volume was written in a "relatively pure" Slavic language (i.e., Church Slavic) and is free of the wide range of stylistic levels so characteristic of other writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj.[23] In this regard, it should be stressed that the pervasive use of a "simple" language" (i.e., what Vyšens'kyj called a *prostyj jazyk* [23.4–7]), absent from all "chapters" of the *Knižica* but typical of *ERB* and other "original" writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj, was intimately linked with a concern for the problems of audience capability and intelligibility. In Vyšens'kyj's opinion, as I have noted elsewhere, "only the use of an 'apostolic' dialect could help all strata of society, even 'simple people,' emerge from their functional 'spiritual infancy' and prepare them for participation in a more dignified medium—that is, the Slavic language—which had been illuminated by theology and which could lead them to salvation through its use in the more sacred parts of the divine service."[24] It is possible that Vyšens'kyj compiled *E* in the "Slavic language"[25] or that he revised his text in accordance with the specific organizing principles of the *Knižica*. However, it is more probable that Vyšens'kyj's text was "revised" by the editors of the *Knižica*, and that their corrections were not limited to matters of language. What is evident, in any event, is that the text of *E* printed in Ostroh should not be identified with an "original text" sent from Mount Athos and faithfully reproduced in the *Knižica*.

The parallels between *E* and *ERB* are based on the presence of certain common motifs that are indissolubly linked with the crisis in the Ruthenian lands that followed the church union declared at Brest. More specifically, both texts present as a central theme the question of whether the bishops who "abandoned"

Orthodoxy are legitimate pastors and teachers or cheats and false prophets unfit for the episcopate. Although the epistle identified as chapter 10 of the *Knižica* is far smaller than *ERB,* it too contains textual units which could easily have fit into other compositional schemes. The initial portion of text suggests that the epistle could deal *extensively* with the general theme of the diabolic craftiness that seeks to extinguish the seeds of the faith and its faithful. Yet this would be inappropriate, for what must be the focus of discussion are the qualities proper to the episcopate. Consequently, the epistle will *briefly* expose the apostates from piety lest the Orthodox faithful be seduced into believing that their faith cannot be maintained without them.[26]

A comparative examination of *E* and *ERB* shows that certain thematic parallels are grounded in the use of similar biblical references that sought to underscore the "apostolic" underpinnings of the episcopate.[27] On the other hand, the precise selection and sequence of biblical citations and references found in the shorter text is quite different from that contained in *ERB.*[28] Furthermore, in the introductory portion of text dealing with the need of Orthodox Christians to maintain the faith, *E* highlights citations from the biblical corpus (2 Tim. 4.28) and other authoritative writings in the Orthodox tradition (the section of the *Physiologus* on the serpent) which are not to be found in *ERB.* Hence, insofar as the connections between *E* and *ERB* are concerned, at issue may be not so much a direct textual relationship as the existence of a "stockroom" of scriptural formulae and thematic-stylistic commonplaces which Vyšens'kyj (and other Ruthenian) writers could use in the presentation of certain motifs.

It is important to stress, in this regard, that certain fundamental themes contained in *E* are not only similar to what is found in *ERB* but highly reminiscent of other writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj. The notion that the truth faith can best be maintained without renegade pastors, the insistence on the observance of God's commandments as well as detachment from the world in search of "inner quiet," the exaltation of monastic ideals and apostolic teachings, the conviction that pastors cannot serve their flock adequately until they have been cleansed and purified—these motifs are hardly limited to *E* and *ERB,* or even to the *Knižka.*

Given the essential continuity of the ideological orientation expressed in Vyšens'kyj's writings, it is not surprising that one can detect in his "epistles" the recurrent use of certain biblical references that aimed to elucidate fundamental *spiritual* leitmotifs that were to take precedence over the *historical* events linked with the crisis taking place in the Ruthenian lands. As I have indicated elsewhere, Vyšens'kyj's strategic use of certain biblical references played a central part in helping the reader grasp the true meaning and intent of his writings.[29] Most historiographic traditions have stressed Vyšens'kyj's struggle with "foreign" rulers and magnates, ecclesiastic hierarchies, cultural and linguistic patrimonies, and religious traditions.[30] However, as the multifold contextual function of the biblical citations employed by Vyšens'kyj sought to suggest, the pervasive evil and injustice so effectively described in his writings had their origins not in

the temporal conflicts between Catholics and Orthodox or the worldly struggles between different hierarchical structures, but in the *reality* of the eternal warfare between God and the devil.[31] In other words, of critical importance in Vyšens'kyj's program to reveal the *real* nature of the evil found among the Ruthenians living in the Polish Kingdom and show how to achieve true cleansing from sin and redemption was his belief that the battle with the organized forces of the malevolent spirit had to be conducted above all as an internal contest.[32]

Thus, notwithstanding the presence of common motifs and scriptural formulae (many of which can be found in other "original" writings by Vyšens'kyj), *E* and *ERB* should not be regarded as "redactions" of the same work.[33] *ERB* betrays textual material which may not derive directly from *E* and—as we shall see—exhibits markedly different compositional structures and organizing principles. The text of *ERB*, which unlike *E* is directly addressed to the "renegade bishops," is far more comprehensive in its treatment of a variety of motifs. Indeed, it is the largest epistle not only in the *Knižka* but in the entire corpus of writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj.[34]

4. It is not easy to identify the principles that govern the thematics and composition of *ERB*. On the one hand, the work clearly exhibits "compilatory features" (i.e., it betrays the presence of textual units that display a high degree of functional autonomy) which make it difficult to speak of an "original" organizing scheme. On the other hand, *ERB* is marked by the recurrence of certain crucial motifs, rhetorical clichés, and sets of lexicalized formulae that underscore its essential unity. It would appear that *ERB* can be segmented in a variety of ways on the basis of different criteria. From a thematic point of view, the textual material of the work can be divided into twenty relatively distinct textual parts. From a compositional standpoint, however, *ERB* can be separated into four sections which betray connections based on both similarity and opposition.

My synopsis thus segments *ERB* into twenty parts according to the following distribution of themes:

(1) The author of *ERB*[35] informs the eminent bishops that he has received their writing which represents their attempt to construct crudely a union of the Ruthenian people with the Latin church and its faith. But how can there be attempts to realize such a union on the part of men who live according to the customs of earthly law and have neither received the heavenly gifts that proceed from the Godhead nor followed the mournful path of Christ and engaged in the exercise of mental prayer. How can someone administer the holy faith if he has not followed the path which leads to the goal of God's grace [50.8–51.7]?

(2) The true path is to be found in Christ's utterances as contained in the holy Gospel. The beginning for those who seek to leave this world and achieve that gift consists of five steps. The first is baptism in the faith in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit [cf Mt. 28.19]. The second step is to fulfill the Lord's commandments when he sent his

apostles to make disciples of all the nations and to teach them to observe all that he had commanded the apostles [Mt. 28.19–20]. The third is to follow Christ by denying oneself and taking up Christ's cross [Mt. 16.24]. Whoever does not hate his own soul cannot be Christ's disciple [cf. Jn. 12.25; Lk.14.26]. The fourth step, in accordance with what the Lord said, is to leave one's home, lands, possessions, relatives, and lay friends in order to inherit eternal life [Mt. 19.29]. The fifth and final step is to live in extreme poverty. For as the Lord said to the young man, "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you have treasure in heaven; and having taken up the cross, follow me" [cf. Mt. 19.21] [51.8–26].

(3) Despite the extreme poverty they assumed, the disciples could not yet assimilate the mysteries of the faith. Christ answered that they had been given the secrets of the kingdom of heaven because they had freed their minds of lay matters and had followed him [cf. Mt. 13.10–11]. Yet even though they had followed him, chosen to endure extreme poverty and united with his passion, they had not been able truly to understand the mysteries of the faith until after the Resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit [cf. Lk. 24.45–49]. When the Holy Spirit had descended upon the apostles at the designated time [Acts 2.4], they knew everything and could boldly preach the mystery of the faith and deal with human salvation, which leads us from unbelief to faith [51.26–52.13].

(4) Dionysius the Areopagite has written about pastors, teachers, and holy fathers who have discovered this true path and, by ascending along this path to the priesthood, have given legitimacy for others to ascend. Dionysius also has informed us that even if someone were to carry out these five steps, he could not be a true and legitimate priest with full participation in the mysteries of the faith unless consecrated from above by the Holy Spirit. And if someone cannot understand the mysteries of the faith, how dare he attempt to administer the faith? As Dionysius writes, whoever wishes to reach the priesthood and understand the mysteries of the faith, even after assuming extreme poverty, cannot do so until he has been purified, illuminated, and reached perfection [52.13–28].

(5) The promoters of the union have not reached the stage of perfection of which Dionysius spoke. Nor do they know anything about illumination and purification. They, as well as their popes and their Jesuits, know nothing about these matters, for they have chosen the pagan dogmas of Aristotle, Plato, and others rather than the simplicity of Christ. Which of them has even reached the first step and remained in the faith that is based on an unshakable foundation? Nor have they ever, either when they were laymen or now, carried out the six corporal works of mercy commanded by Christ. They have not given food to the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, welcomed the stranger, clothed the naked, comforted the sick, or visited the prisoner [Mt. 25.36–36] [52.28–55.12].

(6) It is necessary to reveal the five steps of the Gospels, which they have spurned and trampled upon. None of the persons linked with the union has renounced the world and taken up the cross of Christ. To the contrary, they have shown much more interest in the pomp, property, and pleasures of this world. Are they not richer and haughtier as clergy than they were previously? All six of them have sought glory in this world rather than follow Christ. None of them understands that unless one renounces all that one has one cannot be a disciple of Christ [Lk. 14.33]. And if one cannot be his disciple, how can one understand the mysteries of the faith? And if one cannot understand the mysteries of the faith, how can one administer the faith? [55.12–57.3].

(7) The promoters of the union should believe that the Last Judgment will take place and that they will be stripped of the bishoprics, titles, and ranks granted by Rome. This

is why they must repent and seek salvation by fleeing to Zoar from Sodom and the fire of Gehenna [Gen. 19.20–22]. If they were to see and know the devil into whose kingdom they have fallen, they would not care for papal and royal honors. But they do not see and know who the devil is and how he deceives them and draws them away from the path of salvation. Yet if they do know this, why are they ashamed of returning to the dignity of the pious faith? It is written that whoever is ashamed of Jesus Christ, of him will the Son of man be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father and with the holy angels [Mk. 8.38]. These truths cannot be concealed, for the author of *ERB* is obliged to reveal them out of Christian love. The promoters of the union can listen and are free to act on these truths as they wish, for they have free will [57.3–58.21].

(8) These statements have been made only in regard to what has been said in the book put forth by the eminent bishops, which shows that those lay creators of fables and bearers of secular wisdom should not, cannot, and will not administer the faith. Four portions from their book have been chosen about which the spirit of piety does not allow the author of *ERB* to remain silent. Yet it should not come as a surprise that the promoters of the union blaspheme truth and celebrate the falsity which they have studied. Indeed, how can they speak good, when they are evil [Mt. 12.34]? How can they speak the truth about the schools which teach the truth when they have not heard about it? The bishops should indicate which of them has passed through the stage of the monastic life that leads to spiritual knowledge, for without whose trials, as the law states, one cannot be a bishop. Which one of them has passed through the deaconate and priesthood according to the law? And which one of them has received the episcopate in the proper manner? [58.22–63.8].

(9) In one part of the book put forth by the promoters of the union it is stated that in the Roman church the bishops do not question their flock about changes and ideas which are to be introduced into the church but rather through their decrees order their flock what to maintain. And, it is also stated, the flock obeys its pastors in the Roman church but not in Rus′. In response, the author of *ERB* asks the eminent bishops whether they can give him evidence from the Gospels and the Apostol, or from patristic writings, where one can read that the flock, endowed with reason and baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, follows after wolves—so that their pure conscience will be torn apart—and makes use of those who want to introduce new ideas into the church (as is done in the Roman church). But did not Christ warn of false prophets who come to us dressed in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves [Mt. 7.15]? And are the false prophets not the pastors and teachers who deride their sheep because they do not want to follow the worldly and wise wolves and thereby lose their souls? Should the sheep listen to any pastor, even one who has entered the sheepfold not by the door but has climbed in by another way, as a thief or a robber [Jn. 10.1–2]? And do pastors have the authority to introduce innovations into a lawful church that is grounded in the eternal foundations of its traditions or should they be accursed [Gal. 1–8]? Why do the bishops deride Rus′ and praise the Latins? Do the Latin sheep do the right thing when they see their pastors oppose God's law and not only do not unmask this evil but even obey their pastors in all things? Do they do the right thing when they do not concern themselves with salvation? But each one will give an account before God [1 Pet. 4.5]. The eminent bishops should know that it is wrong to wish for Roman customs to rule over the sheep of Rus′. They should know that, in so doing, they have taken the path of the Antichrist and accepted the deception of the devil (63.9–67.31).

(10) In a second passage from the book it is stated that the bad and ignoble patriarchs, when they come to this land, do nothing good or useful. In particular, it is also written, the visit of Patriarch Jeremiah was of no use because he placed common peasants, cobblers, saddlers, and tanners over the bishops and having removed the entire church order from the clergy, he gave power to laymen and thereby greatly debased episcopal authority.[36] In response, the author of *ERB* asserts that in this passage the bishops show themselves to be pagans rather than Christians. They call themselves clergymen but they are not, because they consider themselves better than others and are proud of themselves through their birth in flesh and blood rather than from God on high. The eminent bishops should know that all who receive Christ have the power to become children of God [Jn. 1.12–13]. Whether someone be a tanner, saddler, or cobbler, he is your brother equal to you in everything. How can they be called Christians, pastors, and clergy if they have not put on Christ [Gal. 3.27] and do not remember that the Lord himself was one who served amongst them [Lk. 22.27]? The author of *ERB* asserts that the bishops consider the visit of Patriarch Jeremiah worthless because he observed that Christ's church had been spoiled and made unclean by gluttonous pastors who, instead of praising God, have shown concern for their temporal rule. What has the patriarch done? He has called together Orthodox Christians of all ranks, orders, and ages and has told them that they should save themselves, for they cannot be saved by the pastors who do not think about either the salvation of their flock or even their own salvation. The flock must be saved by faith, that is, by the commandments of the Gospels, by the laws of the fathers, and by a pure and chaste life. And the eminent bishops should know that the patriarch is not bad but the wisest of the wise of this age [67.31–72.23].

(11) Finally, as regards the second passage from the book put forth by the bishops, the author of *ERB* discusses why church order was entrusted to peasants, tanners, saddlers and laymen and why the bishops were neglected in this dignity. The bishops should remember that when Christ wanted to send people to preach salvation to the whole world, he did not send High Priests Annas and Caiaphas, for they were not deemed worthy of this service. Do the bishops not know that the high priests killed Christ or has this fact been hidden from them? And do they not know that the patriarch was following the path of Christ, who chose for preaching common peasants, humble beggars, innocent fishermen, and tanners, and entrusted his church to them? The bishops sit on their episcopal thrones but do not sit in dignity and honor. They own villages, but the devil owns their souls. And they say to the pious priests that it is the bishops and not the priests who are the true shepherds inspired by the Holy Spirit to feed the church of the Lord and God [Acts 20.28]. Yet they do not understand Saint Paul's words and should not place themselves above the priests and celebrate the episcopal rank. The author of *ERB* asks if it was the Holy Spirit which placed the eminent bishops to feed the church of the Lord and God. Or was it the spirit of the Antichrist which set them up to feed their stomachs and multiply their insatiable avarice? They are proud of their episcopal title but not its dignity, asserting that Orthodox bishops, priests, and the common people do not have the power to remove, reject, or curse them. But they should know that the very body of the church, that is, simple Christians, have the authority to expel, condemn, and curse evil overseers lest, through the actions of these pastors, they enter Gehenna. As a most sinful monk, the author of *ERB* first implores the bishops to repent for their evil life. If they choose not to repent, he curses them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Saint Paul had foreseen that fierce wolves would come in among us, not sparing the flock [Acts

20.29]. Have not these bishops climbed in through their force, craftiness, ability to please people, and avarice? The eminent bishops should look at their images in the mirror and judge for themselves whether Saint Paul was referring to them when he described the qualifications of a bishop in his letter to Timothy [1 Tim. 3.2–7]. The author of *ERB* has thus shown (i) that it was not the Holy Spirit which made them bishops but insatiability, voluptuousness, and avarice, (ii) that the patriarch's visit was most useful, and (iii) why the patriarch transferred Christ's church to laymen [72.24–78.6].

(12) A third portion of the writing explains that the bishops have fled from the captive patriarchs and have preferred to ally themselves with the free and independent pope. The third portion shows that, in so doing, and having gone from the humble to the proud, from the streamlets of the Gospel to the river of Hell, the bishops have chosen to worship and serve the head of the Antichrist and have desired to be participants in his fate now and forevermore [78.6–24].

(13) A fourth portion of the book states that a miracle did not take place when wine was transformed into water during the mass of union conducted at Brest by a priest of the Roman faith and celebrated on the throne of the Orthodox faith. According to the book of the bishops, this happened through a mistake and an accident. The author of *ERB* asserts that they can attempt to deceive us and tell falsehoods, but the miracle did in truth take place [78.25–33].

(14) Even though the author of *ERB* was not in their lands when this occurred, he knows of it from the local Athonite miracle, which took place at a certain time on the Holy Mountain as a divine punishment inflicted against the Latins. In order that you know whether the wine transformed into water was a mistake or the truth, the author of *ERB* sends to them the story of the Latins on Mount Athos in the reign of Michael Paleologue, when there were battles between the Greeks and Latins. Followers of the Latinophile emperor (who had a secret enmity against the Bulgarians), together with Latin clergy, landed on the shores of the Holy Mountain and proceeded to desecrate monasteries, such as Iveron, Vatopedi, and Zographou, and make martyrs of the monks who refused to accept their heretical teachings. Finally, the bloodthirsty and merciless Latins reached the Xeropotamou Monastery, where one can learn whether the miracle of Brest was a lie or the truth. One should observe out of the love of that earlier union the pagan love which the eminent bishops now praise. The monks of Xeropotamou welcomed the Latin clergy and celebrated the liturgy with them. And while they were commemorating our archbishop, who is in Rome, and the emperor, God looked down from the heavens in anger at the criminals. The earth began to shake on the spot where the unworthy ones were standing, and the walls came crashing down as at Jericho [Jos. 6.15–27]. Yet one piece of a wall remained standing as a sign from generation to generation. The eminent bishops should come to the holy mountain and see the wall that had been split during the Latin service (while the other walls had fallen), but which still stands to unmask the heretical abomination and defilement of the throne of God's church [78.33–87.18].

(15) There are other miraculous actions which occurred to honor and celebrate the memory of the forty martyrs.[37] These actions took place in the reign of Roman and other pious emperors, who built a holy shrine in memory of the blessed martyrs and adorned it exceedingly. When the names of the forty martyrs were pronounced by the archpriest, there began to grow from the foot of the holy table a holy mushroom with its cap in the shape of forty apples which ascended over the holy table and overshadowed the entire sanctuary. And for this most glorious miracle all present gave glory to God and to the

forty martyrs. And then all the infirm found in the cloister were healed through the possibility of tasting the holy mushroom. And this miracle was pronounced throughout the entire ecumene and great multitudes were healed. Thus, each victim of the impious is an abomination before God. The abominable and unlawful Emperor Michael had sought to eliminate Orthodoxy from the holy mountain but had failed, and like Saul had had his house destroyed. Yet Mount Athos flourished as did the house of David. And the monks, who out of fear had hidden, came out and began to sob and weep. And they gathered together the dead and buried them honorably. Thus did the impious emperor with his hirelings perish and disappear forever [87.19–89.14].[38]

(16) The author of *ERB* asks the eminent bishops to consider carefully the miracle on Mount Athos, when the throne of the pious was defiled during the liturgy by the false Latin mass. And they should believe that a miracle did in truth take place at Brest and wine was turned into water to unmask the impiety of the bishops. It is evident that the Antichrist has blinded them in the present age. They can lie if they wish, for the false kingdom, vainglory, shameless luxury, idol-worshipping power, and pagan authority serve them and possess them now and forevermore. Yet if they will be expulsed from that life, they will see that they have fought truth with falsity and they will observe the type of teacher from whom they took their knowledge. Then they will see how the spiritual cover, which has been oppressed by corporeal coarseness, will be revealed to them upon their death. But they can do as they wish [89.15–90.3].

(17) Why do the eminent bishops direct the Orthodox faithful to the book by Piotr Skarga[39] and deride and scorn the precepts of Rus', suggesting that in Skarga's book there is nothing pertaining to the Antichrist and that it contains the truth? But—the author of *ERB* asserts—nowhere in Skarga does one find truth and justice. Therefore, the bishops are asked to stop indicating to the Orthodox faithful the path toward the great book by Skarga. They should allow the Orthodox to sit at home and study the modest precepts of Rus' and seek out the truth [90.4–91.22].

(18) If the eminent bishops—who have not understood the knowledge of the Holy Spirit, which teaches us to unmask falsity—chose to slander the author of *ERB* out of envy, suggesting that in his writing he speaks in an insulting and poisonous manner, he has an answer for them. He has learned from Christ to call a lie a lie and an evildoer an evildoer. He has learned from John the Theologian to call the enemy of the wisdom of the Gospels the Antichrist and to call his followers false prophets [Jn. 8.44]. He has learned from the apostles Peter, Jude, and Paul to regard those who philosophize as men who allure us away from the pious faith. Saint Paul taught him to call all those who attacked piety shameless dogs [Phil. 3.2]. Thus, let the Holy Spirit close the lips of (and make dumb) those who out of envy would condemn my writing. The author of *ERB* trusts in God and hopes that the little streamlet which has been sent to their lands will sufficiently feed and satisfy those who hunger and thirst for the truth [91.23–92.12].

(19) The opponents will point out that it is easy for the absent and distant author of *ERB* to treat them disrespectfully, for if he were in their lands he would be confined and not permitted to speak as in the case of Protosyncellus Nicephorus.[40] The author of *ERB* responds that it is not because he is far away that he boldly speaks the truth and is willing to die for that truth if it be God's will. Christ has given the key which opens the kingdom of heaven so that we shall suffer in this age from the children of perdition, saying: "If they excluded and reviled me, they will also exclude and revile you. And if you killed me, they will also kill you, for a disciple is not above his teacher, nor a servant above his master"

[cf. Mt. 5.11; Mt. 10.24; Lk. 6.22]. Do the bishops really believe—the author of *ERB* asks—that Nicephorus' tongue, which unmasked falsity but you have confined and do not hear, is now silent? They should know that he now raises up his voice against them more than previously when he was not imprisoned. He has been confined in Marienburg so that he will not see Cracow, L′viv, Warsaw and other cities, but they cannot keep him away from supernal Jerusalem. Was not John imprisoned on the island of Patmos, but in his confinement was he not able to praise God and unmask falsity [cf. Rev. 1.9]? The bishops have confined Nicephorus but he reveals that, although they are called Christians, they have become oppressors and torturers and defenders of the falsity of the Antichrist. The Orthodox faithful, on the contrary, are true sons of God baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit [92.13–94.22].

(20) May the proud stance of the bishops and crude belching of their shouts not convince them that the Orthodox faithful could become traitors to their faith. Let the hopes of the bishops (which no one awaits with enthusiasm in Rus′) not be realized. Man is free to choose whether he wishes to be saved or perish, to live or to die, and to be the son of God or the son of the devil. But the Roman popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops cannot hope for the eternal life promised to the faithful sons of the Eastern church. Nor can secular powers, kings, and every authority and servant of the Roman pope hope for eternal life, for the Orthodox faithful do not want to join with them and will not desire to bow before the pope. The bishops should not hope for that now or forevermore, amen [94.23–95.5].

5. As indicated above, the text of *ERB* can be reduced to a compositional scheme consisting of four sections:

A. The assertion and confirmation that the renegade bishops, who have accepted a union with Rome and written a book about it, are not qualified either to administer the faith or to carry out any type of church union [pts. 1–7].

B. The demonstration that four textual portions of the book produced by the bishops are false and replete with blasphemy and calumny uttered against the piety of the Orthodox faithful [pts. 8–13].

C. The demonstration—notwithstanding what is said in the fourth textual portion of that book—that a miracle did take place during the liturgy conducted at Brest by a Roman priest. Confirmation of this is provided by other miracles which took place on Mount Athos as a consequence of earlier attempts at union with the Roman faith [pts. 14–16].[41]

D. The assertion that not only their book but also the message found in Piotr Skarga's work—which the bishops have encouraged the Orthodox faithful to follow—contains neither truth nor justice. As a response to the possible slander and assaults of the bishops, an affirmation that there is an apostolic duty to unmask the enemies of Christ and that the truth cannot be silenced. A belief that the Orthodox faithful will not betray their faith, which promises eternal life [pts. 17–20].

In accordance with the compositional scheme A-B-C-D, it is possible to establish an additional set of thematic equivalences based on the distinction between the "outer" sections (A-D) and the "inner" sections (B-C) of *ERB*. Whereas the outer sections represent a *general* reaction to the appearance of a

certain "book" crafted by the bishops who promoted the Union of Brest (and, concomitantly, seek to determine the true nature of the episcopal office), the inner sections offer a *specific* response to four particular "textual portions" (*artikuly*) found in that book that were of special concern for the author of *ERB*. In other words, the core sections (B-C) provide precise counterarguments to what were regarded as the fundamental theses advanced by the "renegade bishops."

Sections A and D focus on the contradistinction between the *ideal* mode of life of the bishops, offered as a model for the entire church, and the *actual* mode of life of the "eminent bishops" who have forsaken the Orthodox faith and agreed to union with the Roman church. Implicit in this opposition, however, is not so much the contrast between "good clergy" and "impious clergy" as the disjunction between, on the one hand, the personal *state* of the "renegade bishops" who, because they "live according to the customs of earthly law and the authority of magnates, emperors and kings,"[42] are defenders of the falsity of the Antichrist, and the holiness of individuals such as the "monk of Vyšnja from the holy Athonite mountain," on the other hand, who has retired into the solitude and tranquillity of the "wilderness" where he bravely speaks the truth and is prepared to suffer in this age from the children of perdition.[43] Also significant in the outer sections is the implied contradistinction between the blasphemous and slanderous writings of the "renegade bishops" and their supporters (e.g., Piotr Skarga), which contain falsity and the deception of the Antichrist, and the simple precepts (as well as *ERB*) compiled by the Orthodox faithful of Rus', which can feed those who hunger for the truth.

6. Like other writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj, *ERB* must be examined not only in relation to the spiritual heritage of Eastern Christendom but also in light of the Western European influences and counter-influences that characterized much of cultural and religious life in the multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. More specifically, both *ERB* and the above-mentioned "book" compiled by the "renegade bishops" need to be evaluated not merely as part of the confrontation between "Orthodox" and "Catholic" culture linked with the Union of Brest but against the backdrop of the complex matrix of ideas that characterized the confessional and ideological conflict of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Equally important, one should not neglect those aspects of humanist scholarship that played a fundamental role in the doctrinal disputes between the Protestant and Catholic Reformations.

Thus, in an analysis of *ERB* and other "epistles" written by Vyšens'kyj in conscious opposition to alternative positions found in the writings of his Polish and Ruthenian adversaries, it would be a mistake to focus only on the differences between the Athonite "defender of Orthodoxy" and the apologists for church union while neglecting possible points of convergence that may even have been grounded in late humanistic trends and patterns of thought. We should consider

the possibility that, for all their differences, Vyšens'kyj and his Ruthenian opponents shared a sort of humanistic "common language," that is, they may have employed, at least to some extent, similar "rules of the game" when expressing their concerns for the fate of the Ruthenian church and the nature of the episcopal office. In this way, the "discussions" between Vyšens'kyj and his opponents can be regarded, in some measure at least, as the continuation of the confessional debates which dominated much of the intellectual life in the Polish Kingdom and the Lithuanian Grand Duchy from the 1550s onwards and which often were—it should not be forgotten—conducted in a spirit of humanistic tolerance.[44]

In examining *ERB* within the broader context of the confessional debates that took place in the second half of the sixteenth century, one should remember that the problem of church order played a central role in the conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. At the Council of Trent, in the rulings handed down by Session XXIII (15 July 1563), which focused on the Sacrament of Order, the Roman Catholic church took up the defense of the institution of the priesthood (i.e., the *sacerdotium*), shared by bishops and presbyters, as well as the church hierarchy, "which consists of bishops, presbyters, and ministers."[45] In response to Reformation doctrine, especially in its most radical form, Session XXIII affirmed, *inter alia,* that (i) there is an indissoluble union between the "holy, visible sacrifice of the Eucharist" and the priesthood;[46] (ii) the priesthood was instituted by Christ and to the apostles and their successors in the priesthood "was given the power of consecrating, offering and administering his body and blood";[47] (iii) the rite of ordination is "truly and properly a sacrament instituted by Christ the Lord";[48] (iv) the institution of the hierarchy is by divine ordinance;[49] (v) the bishops, who have succeeded the apostles, "principally belong to this hierarchial order, and have been placed by the Holy Spirit to rule the church of God";[50] and (vi) the bishops are superior to the presbyters (i.e., the priests), have the power to confirm and ordain, and "can perform many other functions over which those of an inferior order have no power."[51] The decrees promulgated at Session XXIII of the Council of Trent—especially the statements on the institution of the priesthood and the nature of the episcopate—reveal motifs that were of crucial importance for both *ERB* and the book compiled by "renegade bishops" to which Vyšens'kyj felt obliged to respond.

7. However we evaluate the textual relationship between *E* and *ERB*,[52] it is evident that the immediate pretext for compiling *ERB* was the appearance in print of a polemical treatise that sought to justify and promote the Union of Brest.[53] Whereas no reference to such a work is made in *E,* the information in the table of contents for chapter 5 of the *Knižka* states that *ERB* offers a response to the question of the term "union" as put forward in a "book" published by "the bishops who have forsaken the Orthodox faith."[54] In the opening lines of *ERB,*

moreover, Vyšens'kyj makes reference to the specific "writing" which had reached him, entitled *The Defense of the Union with the Latin Church and Faith, the Servant of Rome,* a work that had been "crudely constructed" by the promoters of the aforementioned union.[55] As Eremin rightly pointed out, the title of the "writing" provided by Vyšens'kyj in the opening lines of *ERB* is reproduced inaccurately and tendentiously paraphrases its contents.[56]

Many scholars have sought to identify the work that served as a source for *ERB*.[57] After considering all the hypotheses presented in previous scholarship, Eremin concluded that the "writing" referred to in the opening lines of *ERB* and elsewhere is not extant and is known only on the basis of the fragmentary evidence found in Vyšens'kyj's epistle.[58] Eremin suspected, however, that the author of the *Defense* must have been Hypatius (Adam) Potej, the well-educated bishop who was a leading architect of the Union of Brest. Indeed, whereas we know relatively little about the activities of the other Ruthenian bishops, Potej—the former castellan of Brest, who in 1593, at the behest of Prince Ostroz'kyj had resigned his senatorial seat and accepted a nomination for the episcopal see of Volodymyr and Brest, taking the monastic name of Hypatius—is the celebrated author of a many polemical tracts written in defense of the union.[59] The scholar's attribution was largely based on what Potej wrote in another work, (i.e., the 'Αντίρρησις[60]), namely, that if the Christian brethren of Rus' wanted to know about the "false"(i.e., Orthodox) synod of 1596, they should read a book published in Vilnius in 1597, not the one for which Christopher Philaleth provided a response[61] but rather his own *Just Description of the Acts and Cause of the Union of Brest* (hereafter *JD*).[62] According to Eremin, moreover, in the 'Αντίρρησις Potej himself provided the most plausible explanation for the disappearance of every exemplar of *JD*—as in the case of other Uniate writings produced in defense of the church union, the Orthodox faithful burnt all copies of *JD* in their possession.[63]

In 1959, some twenty years after the publication of Eremin's article on the "unknown source" for *ERB,* A. S. Zernova uncovered a single copy of *JD,* which is held in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (Inv. No. 1021).[64] Although Zernova provided a brief description of the work's contents, she did not establish any connection between *JD* and *ERB.* More recently, H. Ja. Halenčanko undertook a comparative examination of *JD* and *ERB*[65] and showed that (i) Potej was the author of *JD* even though no reference to the author is found anywhere in the tract, and (ii) the *artikuly* cited in *ERB* as well as numerous other excerpts undoubtedly rely on textual material found in *JD*.[66]

To judge from its title,[67] it would seem that Potej's *JD* sought to provide a just description as well as a defense of the synod that proclaimed union with the Roman church at Brest in 1596 and contrast it to the "manifest falsity and calumny" connected with the "heterodox assembly" (i.e., the Orthodox "countersynod," also held at Brest) deliberating in the private home of a

heterodox layman.[68] Indeed, an examination of the contents of *JD* reveals that its principal aim was to justify the actions of the metropolitan Rahoza and the other five bishops who supported the union.[69] According to Potej, the tract was written in response to five theses advanced by the Orthodox opposition: (i) the union is new and unheard of in the Commonwealth; (ii) the union violates Christian rights and freedoms; (iii) the union has been imposed upon Rus′ by force; (iv) the union abolishes all Eastern Christian church ceremonies and affirms Roman customs; and (v) the Orthodox synod at Brest in 1596 was the truly just synod.[70]

In response to the Orthodox theses, Potej affirmed that (i) the union with Rome is not an innovation but a restoration of ancient relations between the Orthodox and the Roman church, as established at the Council of Florence (1439); (ii) the union with Rome does not violate ecclesiastical and theological tradition; (iii) the union has the support of the secular authorities and many of the most influential members of the Ruthenian nobility; (iv) this union is justified by the weakness and corruption of the Orthodox clergy, which is incapable of caring for its flock and the church; and (v) the synod presided over at Brest by Metropolitan Rahoza is the legitimate synod.[71]

8. For the purpose of the present study, however, one should focus not on the entire contents of *JD* but rather on the four particular "textual portions" (*artikuly*) to which Vyšens′kyj devoted special attention. It is important to remember that the textual units selected by the author of *ERB* for criticism are not distinguishable and separately marked sections but rather brief excerpts from a book which has no internal division. According to Vyšens′kyj, the four *artikuly* represented a blasphemous attack not only on the Orthodox faithful but on God himself, for their author(s) dared to proclaim proudly the following:

(1) In the Roman church, the bishops never question their flock about changes to be introduced into church; instead, whatever they decree, they tell their flock to uphold. And the flock obeys its pastors in the Roman church, but not in Rus′.[72]

(2) When the bad and ignoble patriarchs come to Rus′, they do nothing that is good or useful. In particular, the visit of Patriarch Jeremiah was of no use because he placed common peasants, cobblers, saddlers, and tanners over the bishops. And having removed the entire church order from the clergy, he gave power to laymen and thereby greatly debased episcopal authority.[73]

(3) The bishops have preferred to break away from the captive and suffering patriarchs and link themselves with the free and independent pope.[74]

(4) A miracle did not take place when water was made from wine during the mass of union celebrated by a priest of the Roman faith on the throne of the Orthodox faith. Instead, this happened through a mistake or an accident.[75]

It needs to be stressed that the four passages presented above, if considered together, do not offer as their primary focus the broad question of church union. The four passages deliberately selected by Vyšens′kyj, although not treated equally,[76] seem to have a singular and more specific aim: namely, to deny

legitimacy to their "authors" (i.e., the "renegade bishops") and, concomitantly, to the message expounded in *JD* about the role of the episcopate in the church and its relationship to the faithful. It would thus appear that the author of *ERB* felt obliged to bring to the forefront the problem of church order and, in particular, the thetical doctrine of a hierarchical church that grants a special role to the clergy and views the episcopacy as the full exercise of the priesthood.[77]

In Vyšens'kyj's opinion, the "honorable eminences" who had compiled *JD* cannot be considered true bishops on the basis of four separate but interconnected criteria: namely, (i) the gift of divine institution, (ii) the feature of pastoral function, (iii) the character of priestly ministry in the sacrificial meaning of the term, and (iv) the property of apostolic succession. First—Vyšens'kyj asserts—although the "renegade bishops" proclaim their episcopal status (and their superiority over priests) as a degree of divine institution in accordance Saint Paul's injunction in Acts 20.28,[78] they have not been granted the heavenly gifts of the Holy Spirit which would enable them to take care of the church. Second, the Orthodox flock, in accordance with church teachings, is obliged to follow only the good shepherds (as described in John 10.11–16) but not the false prophets who—because they introduce innovations into the unchangeable traditions of the church—are not to be regarded as legitimate pastors and teachers. Third, the miraculous transformation of wine into water that took place during the celebration of the Latin mass in an Orthodox sanctuary at Brest would tend to invalidate the capacity of the bishops to be the instruments by which the faithful are sanctified. Fourth—according to the author of *ERB*—the "renegade bishops" cannot be called pastors, clergy, and Christians because they have not adopted Christ's life-style of leadership and have ignored the fact that Christ had chosen "simple" and "illiterate" men—"common peasants, humble beggars, innocent fishermen, and tanners"—for preaching salvation to the whole world.

There is no question that—at the historical level of exposition—*ERB* accurately betrays Vyšens'kyj's powerful response to the actual state of affairs in the Ruthenian lands after 1596: in his view, the Ruthenian bishops who had abandoned the Orthodox faith were to be rejected as illegitimate clergy who had uttered blasphemy, falsity, and calumny against piety.[79] One should remember that in the celebrated epistle that constitutes chapter 3 of the *Knižka,* probably put together about the same time as *ERB*,[80] Vyšens'kyj had reached the conclusion that "it was better for [the Orthodox faithful in Rus'] to go to church and preserve Orthodoxy without bishops and priests appointed by the devil [i.e., by secular power because of earthly ambitions] than to be in church with bishops and priests not called by God and thereby deride it and trample Orthodoxy."[81] One might wonder whether—at the spiritual level of meaning—Vyšens'kyj's outrage here and in *ERB* extends beyond the specific actions of the "renegade clergy" at Brest and represents a general condemnation of the rank of priesthood which—because of its total corruption and its alliance with the secular power—would be unable to act as agents of salvation for the benefit of the church and all men. Patriarch Jeremiah's visit to the Ruthenian lands had been necessary *before* the

Union of Brest because the church had been spoiled and made unclean by pastors who cared for temporal power and their luxurious life-style. *Prior to* the union, the patriarch had been obliged to proclaim to the Orthodox faithful of all ranks and orders that they could not be redeemed by pastors who did not even think about saving themselves.[82] Orthodox Christians could only achieve salvation through faith, through the commandments of the Gospel and the church fathers, and through a pure and chaste mode of life.[83]

What is especially critical in the structures of Vyšens'kyj's thought is the disjunction between the episcopal life-style and the apostolic way of life.[84] By considering themselves part of a hierchical structure that is above the Orthodox faithful and that is proud of its "birth in flesh and blood rather than from God on high," the "renegade bishops" could hardly be seen as successors of the apostles. According to Vyšens'kyj, church order—and human salvation—had to be entrusted to "common people" and not to those individuals who cared about their episcopal title and not their flock. As proof, he reminded the bishops that when Christ had wanted to sent men to preach salvation to the whole world, he did not send the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas but "simple" and "illiterate" men.

It is not by chance that when considering the crisis in the Ruthenian church, Vyšens'kyj devoted far more attention to the pastoral function of the bishops than to their sacrificial ministry. If the connection between the assembly of the church and the celebration of the liturgy had been broken, and if the people had been separated from the clergy, the church could no longer regard the bishops as the spiritual conscience of Orthodoxy. Here, too, one may wonder whether—and if so, to what extent—*ERB* offers not merely a particular denunciation of the corrupt alliance forged by "renegade bishops" and the "Roman popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops" but a more general reaction to the notion of the church as a sacramentally hierarchical institution which serves and sanctions this world with its religious and moral laws.[85] In other words, one might ask if Vyšens'kyj's condemnation of the union also provided him with the possibility of offering an eschatological vision of the church based not on the link between the clergy and Christ's priestly powers that had been invalidated but rather on the indissoluble bond between the monastic way of life and the apostolate.

9. The "inner sections" (B–C) of *ERB,* therefore, constitute an autonomous textual unit—or consist of several autonomous entities—which, by denying legitimacy to the "renegade bishops," not only undermined the union they sought to promote but provided an alternative mode of salvation for the Orthodox faithful. In the "outer" sections (A–D), which (like the "inner" sections) can be studied as one or more autonomous textual portions, the focus is also on the issue of legitimacy grounded in consecration from above by the Holy Spirit, but here the author of *ERB* devotes particular attention to the connection between true understanding—a prerequisite for the preservation of church order—and the two distinct but inseparable dimensions of monastic life,

namely, the ascetic and the contemplative. Even if one remained faithful to the ascetic mode of life, one could not administer the faith until one had been purified, illluminated, and reached perfection.

Thus, in section A of *ERB* Vyšens'kyj "illegitimizes" the "renegade bishops" on the basis of the two above-mentioned criteria identified with monastic life. First, the bishops who praise themselves for achieving the gift of the Holy Spirit and desire to administer the faith are servants of the Antichrist if they have not followed the "path of the Gospel," which consists of "five steps."[86] In fact, even though there is often no clear distinction among them, the "five steps" are presented as distinct and separate stages on the path toward truth in connection with Christ's great commission of the Apostles after his Resurrection. The steps serve to reveal the difficult conditions of discipleship. Yet even when they had reached the final step, which is extreme poverty, the Disciples could not yet fathom the mysteries of the faith. Only after receiving the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which brought about the definitive institution of the Disciples as ἀπόστολοι, could the followers of Christ and their successors boldly preach the mystery of the faith and concern themselves with the salvation of human souls. Because the "renegade bishops" had not voluntarily accepted apostolic poverty and humility, they were unable to carry on the teaching ministry of Christ and his Apostles.

Second, the legitimacy of the priesthood (and its full exercise) relies not only on the fulfillment of the five steps but also on the purification, illumination, and perfection defined by Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite.[87] Here, as in two other works—namely, the *Epistle to Sister Domnikija* and the *Spiritual Spectacle*—where Vyšens'kyj makes reference to Dionysius, the emphasis is not on hierarchical order within the church and sacramental mysticism[88] but rather on the connection between Dionysius' triad of powers and the monastic way of life (i.e., the three actions of purification, illumination, and perfection as levels of spiritual knowledge).[89] As I have noted elsewhere:

> What counts for Vyšens'kyj in the Dionysian schema of hierarchical division and triadic structures—especially insofar as the orders and functions of the ecclesiastical ranks is concerned—is the spiritualized interpretation of the three hierarchical activities of purification, illumination, and perfection as the final three steps in the mystical ascent towards union with God and ultimate salvation. . . . [He] might have cared little for the Dionysian parallelism between the celestial and ecclesiastical hierarchies, or Pseudo-Dionysius's glorification of those who sanctify (the clergy) at the expense of those who are to be sanctified (monastic rank). Indeed, what may have interested him far more was the legitimacy of ecclesiastical functions performed by a priest not consecrated by the Holy Spirit and therefore not in a state of grace.[90]

Hence, having established for "true pastors" a necessary link between the "five steps" that make up the path of the Gospel and the "three steps" of Dionysius' mystical ascent, Vyšens'kyj could demonstrate the illegitimate status of the bishops who had forsaken the faith. The "renegade bishops" could not admin-

ister the mysteries of the faith because they had separated themselves from the apostolic mode of life.

The fundamental opposition between the "eminent Graces" who had crafted *JD* and the "apostolic" monk who had produced *ERB* plays a central role in section D of the work. Vyšens'kyj sought here to contrast the falsehood and injustice found in the books of the bishops and Piotr Skarga with the apostolic truth which he was obliged to reveal, even if it meant suffering and perhaps death for Christ's sake. In his struggle with the Antichrist for the purification of the church, the author of *ERB* offered a vision of the church not as a hierarchical structure allied with the "world rulers of this present darkness" but as an anticipation of the Kingdom of Heaven to come. In so doing, he presented a message which sought to reestablish the necessary link between the monastic way of life and the original κήρυγμα grounded in the proclamation of the divine Word.[91]

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NOTES

1. The "complete text" of the *Epistle* has been published as chapter 5 of the collection conventionally entitled *Knižka Ioanna mnixa Višenskoho ot svjatyja afonskia hory,* in I. P. Eremin (Jer'omin), *Ivan Višenskij. Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), 50–95. (In the present study, chapter 5 and other writings by Vyšens'kyj are cited according to Eremin's 1955 edition. In all references, the first numeral indicates the page, and the second number gives the line.) The information on chapter 5 contained in the table of contents for the *Knižka* (found only in the seventeenth-century L'viv copy [L]) refers to the work as a "writing to the bishops who have forsaken the Orthodox faith" (*Pisanie k utekšim ot pravoslavnoe vîry episkopom*) [8, 29].

2. For a discussion of *ERB* as a response to the Union of Brest, see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 243–47, 303–306.

3. "Velmožnym ix milostjam, panom arcibiskupu Mixajlu i biskupom Potîju, Kirilu, Leontiju, Deonisiju i Hrihorku sovyšše pamjat pokajanija, strax heenny i buduščaho suda nizposlatisja ot vsevidjaščaho oka troičnaho božestva, otca i syna i svjatoho duxa, Ioan mnix z Višnî ot svjatoe afonskoe hory userdno vam zyčit" [50.2–6].

4. See H. Goldblatt, "Godlike 'Simplicity' *versus* Diabolic 'Craftiness': On the Significance of Ivan Vyshens'kyi's 'Apology for the Slavic Language,'" in *Living Record: Essays in Memory of Constantine Bida,* ed. I. Makaryk (Ottawa, 1991), 3–22.

5. N. I. Kostomarov, "Četyre sočinenija afonskogo monaxa Ioanna iz Višni, po povodu voznikšej v južnoj i zapadnoj Rusi unii, ili edinenie vostočnoj pravoslavnoj cerkvi s zapadnoju rimskoju (konca XVI veka)," in *Akty otnosjaščie k istorii južnoj i zapadnoj Rossii* 2 (1865): 227–54. On the basis of the eighteenth-century Tolstoy copy (T), Kostomarov published chapters 2–6 of the *Knižka* (205–70).

6. For the corpus of Vyšens'kyj's "original" works, see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 272–80, 292–93, 313–16. On the manuscript tradition of his writings, see H. Goldblatt, "On the Reception of Ivan Vyšens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15 (1991): 358–61. Herein are listed twelve testimonies, one from the seventeenth century, two from the eighteenth century, and the remaining copies from the nineteenth century. It is almost certain that there are other codices containing Vyšens'kyj's writings in the manuscript repositories of Russia, Ukraine, and other countries. See most recently I. Myc'ko, *Ostroz'ka slov'jano-hreko-latyns'ka akademija* (Kyiv, 1990), 16.

7. The conventional heading, *Knižka Ioanna mnixa Višenskoho ot svjatyja afonsia hory,* is the initial words of an extensive title which opens a collection of writings attributed to "Ivan the monk from Vyšnja." It is important to note that this title, as well as the "introduction" which follows it, has come down to us in a single manuscript (L).

8. As I have noted elsewhere, the contents of U—which lacks the title, introduction, and table of contents found in L and which does not divide textual material into "chapters"—hardly suggest the existence of a larger collection that scholars have come to call the *Knižka.* One should not forget, in this regard, that Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj considered it appropriate to link the preface entitled "On the Manner of Reading this Work" (*O činu pročitanija seho pisanija*), which begins the textual material drawn from the *Knižka* found in U, with an entirely different "collection" (see Goldblatt, "Vyšens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers," 361–62, 370–71).

9. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 292–93.

10. Thus, for example, it is noteworthy that in U Vyšens'kyj's *Pozorišče myslennoe,* which has come down to us in only one testimony (fols. 519ʳ–536ᵛ), is found together with textual units from the *Knižka* (fols. 359ʳ–518ᵛ) rather than with his other writings (fols. 218ʳ–358ᵛ). It is also significant that U makes no attempt to present the *Pozorišče myslennoe* as a textual unit totally separated from *ERB* (and the other textual materials connected with the *Knižka*). One is tempted to conjecture that the *Pozorišče myslennoe* was inserted immediately after the "incomplete" text of *ERB* (439ʳ–518ᵛ) because of their common ideological thrust, which is at once apostolic and antihierarchical. In other words, it may well be that the location of *ERB* and *Pozorišče myslennoe* in U is not accidental but reflects a conscious desire to underscore the monastic underpinnings of Christian salvation. On the discipline of codicology, which seeks to arrange testimonies according to their "convoy" (i.e., the distribution of texts in a given codex), see D. S. Lixačev, *Tekstologija na materiale russkoj literatury X—XVII vv.,* 2nd rev. ed. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1983), 49–54, 245–84, 555–57; Goldblatt, "Vyšens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers," 360–61.

11. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 303.

12. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 302–303. Cf. I. Franko, *Ivan Višenskij i jeho tvory* (L'viv, 1895), 195.

13. Cf. Eremin's observations on the "genre" or "literary type" found in Vyšens'kyj's writings: "The fact is that Vyšens'kyj frequently did not maintain his works within the framework of one or another genre. Almost every work by him is a peculiar fusion of all those genres in whose system he wrote. The dialogue in Vyšens'kyj often develops into an epistle, the epistle is transformed into a dialogue, the polemical treatise acquires the features which bring it nearer to the epistle or the dialogue. Among the works of Vyšens'kij there are many for which it is difficult to determine precisely what genre they belong to, or to what extent the attributes of all three genres are simultaneously intertwined in them" (*Ivan Višenskij,* 265–66).

14. On the concepts of "open tradition" and "closed tradition" for Orthodox Slavic literature, see most recently R. Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana, in *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa* (Bari, 1991), 45–54.

15. See, for example, 55.13–15; 57.28; 59.32; 63.9; 67.34–68.6; 69.32; 75.19; 78.13; 79.5. It is apparent that the seams between textual units were not always readily identifiable to the scribes engaged in "copying" *ERB.* Thus, for example, a shift in the discussion from *stix* 1 to *stix* 2 (i.e., textual excerpts, also called *artikuly,* from a work compiled by Hypatius Potej [see nn. 65–66 below]) was interpreted in some testimonies (L and T) as the transition from one "chapter" to another: "Imja že tomu [vtoromu] stixu toe: Jako durnyj, neslavnyj i nepožitočnyj byl priezd Ieremeja patriarxi . . . ubližene vlasti episkopskoj učinil. Glava 6" [67.34–68.6]. Here the phrase "chapter 6" refers to what follows, not what precedes it; in other words, it should not be identified with an alleged "chapter" found in Potej's above-mentioned treatise. Cf. I. P. Eremin, "Neizvestnyj pamjatnik ukrainskoj publicistiki konca XVI veka," in *Sbornik statej k sorokaletiju učenoj dejatel'nosti akademika A. S. Orlova* (Leningrad, 1934), 83–92, esp. 84.

16. I. Franko, "Novyj pričinok do studij nad Ivanom Vyšens'kym." *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka* 35–36, no. 3–4 (1900): 1–4.

17. See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 304.

18. A copy of the *Knižica* can be found in the Public Library in St. Petersburg (GPB I.7.18[b]). According to what we read on the initial folio, the volume was printed "z drukarni Ostrozkoe v lîto ot sozdanija mira 7106, a ot po ploti roždestva gospoda Boga i spasa našeho Isusa Xrista lîta 1598, mîsjaca ijunja 11."

19. M. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 2 (L'viv, 1921), 154.

20. The epistle to Prince Ostroz'kyj is published in Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 329–32. (In the present study, *E* is cited according to Eremin's edition. The first numeral indicates the page, and the second number gives the line.) It is interesting to compare the title of this epistle with the title to chapter 2 of the *Knižka,* which is also an epistle addressed to "the pious sovereign Vasyl', Prince of Ostroh, and the Orthodox Christians of Little Rus', both the clergy and the laity, from the highest to the lowest rank" [16.2–4].

21. Here *E* makes use of the section on the serpent found in the *Physiologus* [330.5–9]. On the exegetical commentary provided by this textual portion of the *Physiologus,* see H. Goldblatt, *Orthodoxy and Orthography: Constantine Kostenečki's Treatise on the Letters* (= Studia Historica et Philologica, no. 16)(Rome, 1987), 201–202.

22. In other words, even if one assumes that *ERB* is somehow based on *E,* the textual changes are such that one can hardly speak of two "redactions." On the concept of "redaction," see Lixačev, *Tekstologija na materiale russkoj literatury X–XVII vv.,* 132–39). Cf. A. Danti, "Di un particolare aspetto della tradizione manoscritta antico-russa: testi a duplice redazione e problemi della loro edizione," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 20 (1973): 1–28, esp. 2–3; M. Colucci, "Contributi ad un'edizione critica del *Choženie za tri morja,*" in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata,* ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, and H. Goldblatt (Rome, 1986), vol. 1: 147–62; Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy,* 91–97.

23. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 304.

24. H. Goldblatt, On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyšens'kyj and the Counter-Reformation," in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15 (1991): 16.

25. The hypothesis that Vyšens'kyj was incapable of writing in Church Slavic is untenable. In this regard, what is essential in the structures of his thought is the functional distinction between "church books and canons," which had to be put forth in the "sacred" Slavic language, and writings produced for the exhortation, consolation, and edification of the faithful, which were to be compiled in an "apostolic" simple language. This distinction seems to have also been extended—at least in theory—to the question of printing and its connection with religious reform. In his remarks on the language of the liturgy, Vyšens'kyj demanded that all "church books and canons" be printed in the "Slavic language" (*Knihi cerkovnye vsî i ustavy slovenskim jazykom drukujte* [23.7]). One might wonder whether the insistence on printing the sacred writings of the Ruthenian Orthodox tradition in Church Slavic implied that works written in the *prostyj jazyk* did not have to be (or, in some instances, should not have been) printed. Even if there is evidence to suggest that Vyšens'kyj (or someone else?) prepared the *Knižka* for publication, perhaps by the "Ostroh school," it is a fact that *E,* which—like the other "chapters" of the *Knižica*— is written in a relatively pure form of Church Slavic, is the only work generally assigned by scholars to Vyšens'kyj that was printed in his lifetime. The "other" writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj, in which the use of the *prostyj jazyk* served as an effective device in fiercely opposing all existing ecclesiastical, political, and social institutions in Rus', did not appear in print until long after his demise. Moreover, as I have indicated elsewhere, it is a curious fact that Vyšens'kyj's rhetorically charged message seems to have found its greatest popularity and diffusion, not among his compatriots but among the communities of Old Believers in Russia ("Vyšens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers," 356–58).

26. "Mnoho byxmo imîli pisati vam o prelesti antixristovoj . . . no nynî nîst vremja. Seho radi toliko vam malo obnažim otstupnikov blahočestia da sja imi ne prelščaete: jako pastyre otstupili ili pobludili, jako i nam ne moščno sja bez nix sъxraniti" [330.16–20]. Cf. 331.41–42: "Ne dovlîet vrîmja ix slîpoty i prelesti objaviti, no toliko s udivleniem rešči: O, prelesti! To esi pstra!".

27. See, for example, the references to John 10.1–2 (64.19–29; 330.24–32; 331.26–30) in connection with the theme of the good shepherd and Matthew 10.37 (51.23; 330.41–42) regarding the demands of discipleship.

28. In other words, *E* and *ERB* might employ different biblical references to express similar motifs. Whereas *E* relies on Matthew 10.37 followed by a paraphrase from Luke 14.26–27 (in combination with Mark 10.29) to present the theme of detachment from the world as one of the conditions of discipleship (330.42–331.1), *ERB* offers the following sequence of citations to express the theme of renunciation: Matthew 16.24 (or Mark 8.34; Luke 9.23), the combination of John 12.25 and Luke 14.26, Matthew 19.29, and Matthew 10.37 (51.15–23).

29. Goldblatt, "Godlike 'Simplicity' *versus* Diabolic 'Craftiness,'" esp. 8–14.

30. See Goldblatt, "Vyšensʹkyj's Writings among the Old Believers," 354–56.

31. This mode of representation is perhaps most clearly expressed through Vyšensʹkyj's frequent recourse—in accordance with Saint Paul's teachings—to the Christian's constant warfare "against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Ephesians 6.12) as well as "the prince of the power of the air" (Ephesians 2.2). In particular, a citation from Saint Paul's well-known passage devoted to God's armor and the Christian's struggle placed in the opening lines of the *Knižka*— ". . . duxi ž lukavii podnebesnii (k nim že branь [Eph. 6.10]) v xristijanstvî našem vladîjut . . ." [7.14–15]—seems to function as a "thematic clue" which was to be interpreted in light of its twofold contextual function (Goldblatt, "Godlike 'Simplicity' *versus* Diabolic 'Craftiness,'" 9–10). On the concept of "thematic clue," see R. Picchio, "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of 'Slavia Ortodoxa,'" *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 1 (1977): 1–31.

32. See T. Špidlík, *La spiritualità dell'oriente cristiano* (Rome, 1965), 201–29; G. Maloney, S. J., *Russian Hesychasm. The Sprirituality of Nil Sorskij* (= Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, no. 269) (The Hague and Paris, 1973), 73–78. What the centrality of the *interior* battle with the devil's stratagems implies for Vyšensʹkyj is that cleansing the heart of all "passions" must be a precondition for return to "active life" in the world. Nevertheless, it should be noted that for many ascetics and mystics in the Eastern Christian tradition the terms πρᾶξις or πρακτικὴ φιλοσοφία do not "correspond to practical life in the modern sense, but only to those activities which are directly conducive to that *catharsis* which is indispensable for the higher stages of the ascent to God. It is important to realize that their thought on the active and the contemplative life does not conceive of the former as a life of action directed toward the world outside the soul" (G. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* [Cambridge, Mass., 1959], 331). However, this "eminently ascetic and monastic" aspect of Eastern Christian doctrine aims not to minimize the significance of other forms of the "active life" but rather to underscore the vital need for constant struggle against vice in defense of the virtue leading to that vision of God which is the true contemplation (θεορία). Furthermore, as I have indicated elsewhere, the structures of Vyšensʹkyj's thought must be studied not only in the context of patristic teachings about the contemplative (theoretical) and the active (practical) way of life, "but also against the background of the discussions, beginning in the age of Humanism and the Renaissance, on the problem of the relationship between action and contemplation. As is well known, these more recent debates inevitably touched upon the themes of ideal community, the correct formation of Christian man, and the role of monastic life" (Goldblatt, "Vyšensʹkyj's Idea of Reform," 55, n. 77).

33. By "redaction" is meant the result of intentional intervention in the phrasing of a text without the alteration of its thematic, structural, and rhetorical individuality.

34. Obviously, this information tells us nothing about the textual history of *ERB* prior to the compilation of the *Knižka*. Let us not forget, moreover, that no *documentary* evidence exists to support the status of *ERB* as an autonomous textual entity. In attempting to identify the precise limits of diverse textual units, one must distinguish between "two levels of authorship," that is, between the composition of individual "chapters" and the compilation of a larger collection (see R. Picchio, "Compilation and Composition: Two Levels of Authorship in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition," *Cyrillomethodianum* 5 [1981]:1–4). On the problem of identifying textual units in the *Knižka*, see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, 292–93.

35. It is the important to stress here once again that throughout *ERB* the author directly addresses the six "renegade bishops" named in the title to the epistle [50.2–3].

36. On Patriarch Jeremiah and his reforms in the Ruthenian lands, see B. Gudziak, "Crisis and Reform: The Kievan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest" [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992], 245–343, esp. 305–27.

37. Early in the thirteenth century, the Xeropotamou Monastery was dedicated to the memory of the forty martyrs of Sebaste (see S. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos* [Bibliothèque du Muséon, no. 13] [Louvain, 1942], 107). For the Greek and Slavic texts of the *Tale of the Forty Martyrs*, which was widely disseminated in the Slavic world, beginning with the *Codex Suprasliensis*, see *Suprasălski ili Retkov sbornik*, ed. J. Zaimov and M. Kapaldo (Sofia, 1982), vol. 1: 67–97.

38. On the real atttitude of Michael VIII Paleologue (1260–1282) towards the monks of Mount Athos, both before and after the Council of Lyons (1274), see E. Amand de Mendieta, *Mount Athos. The Garden of the Panaghia* (= Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, no. 41) (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1972), 88–90.

39. Judging from a "source" used by Vyšens'kyj in *ERB* (see below, n. 67), it would appear that he is not referring to Skarga's writings in general, or to his *Synod Brzeski* (Cracow, 1597), but rather to his *O rządzie i jedności Kościoła Bożego od jednym Pasterzem i o greckim od tej jedności otstąpieniu* (Cracow, 1590), which is the revised version of a tract that had first appeared in print in Vilnius in 1577 (*O jedności Kościoła Bożego*...). This does not mean we have any evidence that Vyšens'kyj had access to, or was acquainted with, the treatise on church unity (or any other work by Skarga) at the time he completed *ERB* (or any other part of the *Knižka*). Although chapter 2 of the *Knižka* implicitly offers a polemical response to the *Synod Brzeski*, Skarga's name is never mentioned, and it is most likely that Vyšens'kyj's denunciation of "Roman pride" in chapter 2 is based not on a firsthand knowledge of Skarga's work, but rather on the author's acquaintance with the 'Αποκρίσις *abo odpowiedź na xiążki o synodzie brzeskim*...(perhaps in the Polish version [Ostroh, 1597] but more likely in the Ruthenian edition [Ostroh, 1598 or 1599]). For a discussion of the influence (both direct and indirect) of Skarga's writings on Vyšens'kyj, see J. Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze Unii brzeskiej* (Cracow, 1912), 255–60; Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, 295–97, 316–25.

40. In 1597, Nicephorus, Protosyncellus of the Patriarach of Constantinople, was brought before the Diet and accused of being a Turkish agent. While further proof of his guilt was being collected, he was jailed at the Castle of Marienburg in Prussia, where he soon died (see O. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest (1439–1596)* [=Sacrum Poloniae Milllennium, no. 5] [Rome,1958], 366–419, esp. 405–407).

41. Eremin is correct in asserting that Vyšens'kyj made use of an existing Slavic translation for his tale about the arrival of the Latins and their deeds on Mount Athos and did not translate from a Greek prototype (*Ivan Višenskij*, 305–306). (For the relevant Greek textual material, see P. Uspenskij, *Vostok xristianskij. Afon*, pt. 3, sec. 2 [St. Petersburg, 1892], 634–44). Cf. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou*, 94–119.) However, the source for Vyšens'kyj's story of attempts to introduce union with Rome on Mount Athos after the Council of Lyons (1274), as well as the legend of the miracles which took place as a result of invoking the forty martyrs of Sebaste, is not the text about the destruction of Athonite monasteries published by Eremin (*Ivan Višenskij*, 332–35), but rather a version of the text which ultimately was inserted into the *Kniga glagolemaja Raj myslennyj*, printed in 1658 at the Iverskij Monastery on Lake Valdaj. With certain minor exceptions, Vyšens'kyj's account closely follows the text contained in the *Raj myslennyj* as well as what is found in a seventeenth-century *sbornik* (Chil. No. 488), the only South Slavic (i.e., Serbian) manuscript which does not go back to the Russian edition (see D. Bogdanović, *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara* [Belgrade, 1978], 186). (I am indebted to Dr. A. A. Turilov of the Institute of Slavistics and Balkan Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, for directing my attention to the relevant texts. I also wish to thank the Hilandar Research Library of The Ohio State University for granting me permission to use the microfilms of manuscripts from the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos.)

42. "Esli bo zemnoho zakona obyčaj takovyj vlasti hospodъskie, careve ili kroleve, obyxoditi i zaživati zvykli, iž krome zasluhi, česti i dikhnitarstva ili preloženstva v podvyššenju titulu darovnym obyčaem nikomu darmo ne dajut ani vozvyšajut, až to dobre uhodnik ix im zaslužit, to kolmi pače o nebesnyx darex, ot božestva isxodjaščix, ne bez zasluh i porjadku zakonnoho darovany byvajut, rozumîti maemo" [50–22–28]. One finds here an important reference not only

to the luxurious lifestyle of the bishops but also to the fact that secular authorities had the right of patronage over the Ruthenian Orthodox church (see Gudziak, "Crisis and Reform," 90–106).

43. See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 92–94.

44. In other words, Vyšens'kyj's role as an Athonite "defender of Orthodoxy" does not permit us to conclude that he was merely a backward "apologist for ignorance" spiritually remote from, and totally at variance with, the mainstream of Ruthenian cultural trends (see Goldblatt, "Vyšens'kyj's Idea of Reform," 40–43; idem, "Vyšens'kyj's Writings among the Old Believers," 354–58). At the same time, it is important to stress that even if many of Vyšens'kyj's epistles are polemical responses to both Uniate and anti-Uniate tracts, the "discussions" are always one-sided—Vyšens'kyj debates his opponents but we have no evidence suggesting that anyone ever responded to his writings during his lifetime.

45. It is important to remember that at the Council of Trent the designations employed to refer to the orders of ministers relies on a terminology established in the Middle Ages. Thus, in the degrees and canons of Session XXIII, the term *sacerdos* can be used in reference to both the bishop and the priest (i.e., the ministers of the Sacraments who share Christ's priestly powers), but it can also be used interchangeably with the term *presbyter* in reference to the priest (i.e., the *sacerdos secundi ordinis*).

46. Caput I. "Sacrificium et sacerdotium ita Dei ordinatione conjunctua sunt, ut utrumque in omni lege exstiterit. Cum igitur in novo testamento sanctum Eucharistiae sacrificium visibile ex Domini institutione catholica ecclesia acceperit, fateri etiam oportet, in ea novum esse visibile et externum sacerdotium, in quod vetus translatum est" (cited after H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* [St. Louis and London], 432). One should note that Session XXIII is closely linked with Session XXII (17 September 1562), entitled "On the Sacrifice of the Mass," which sought to underscore the sacrifical ministry as an essential part of the priesthood. Both sessions took as their point of departure the ten "articles" (i.e., programmatic statements) taken from Protestant doctrine, submitted on 3 December 1551, which most clearly and forcefully rejected the sacrificial character of the Mass and the Sacrament of Order.

47. Caput I. "Hoc autem ab eodem Domino Salvatore nostro institutum esse, atque apostolis eorumque successoribus in sacerdotio potestatem traditam consecrandi, offerendi et ministrandi corpus et sanguinem ejus ... sacrae litterae ostendunt et catholicae ecclesiae traditio semper docuit" (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees,* 433).

48. Canon III. "Si quis dixerit, ordinem sive sacram ordinationem non esse vere et proprie sacramentum a Christo Domino institutum...: anathema sit" (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees,* 435).

49. Canon VI: "Si quis dixerit, in ecclesia catholica anon esse hierarchiam divina ordinatione institutam, quae constat ex episcopis, presbyteris et ministris: anathema sit" (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees,* 435).

50. Caput IV. "Proinde sacrosancta synodus declarat, praeter ceteros ecclesiasticos gradus episcopos, qui in apostolorum locum successerunt, ad hunc hierarchicum ordinem praecipue pertinere, et positos, sicut idem Apostolus [i.e., Saint Paul] ait, a Spiritu Sancto refere ecclesiam Dei [Acts. 20.28]..." (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees,* 434).

51. Caput IV. "Proinde sacrosancta synodus declarat,... [episcopos] presbyteris superiores esse, ac sacramentum confirmationis conferre, ministros ecclesiae ordinare, atque alia pleraque peraagere ipsos posse, quarum functionum potestatem religui inferioris ordinis nullam habent" (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees,* 434). In the canons on the Sacrament of Order the relationship between bishop and priest is further clarified: Canon VII. "Si quis dixerit, episcopos non esse presbyteris superiores,...vel [potestatem], quam habent, illis esse cum presbyteris communem...: anathema sit" (Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees,* 435).

52. According to Eremin, *ERB* is the result of a "radical reshaping" of *E* (*Ivan Višenskij,* 304).

53. It should be noted that *ERB* is only one of many writings in which Vyšens'kyj reacted (either directly or indirectly) to a specific work produced as a consequence of the Union of Brest. See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 292–93, 295–97, 303–309, 316–28.

54. "Pisanie k utekšim ot pravoslavnoe vîry episkopom o imeni zhody v knižkax ot nix vidanoe, pokazujuči, jako taja zhoda ne takovymi, jako ž oni, bezplodnym v vîrî i žitii, činena i ednana byti maet, no svjatymi i duxovnaho razuma dostihšimi..." [8.29–32].

55. "Oznajmuju vašim milostjam [i.e., the "renegade bishops"], iže dostihlo mja vašeho podviha (truda, revnosti i tščanija) pisanie, zovemoe Oborona zhody z latinskim kostelom i vîroj, Rymu službačeju, vami, xodotaimi i budovničimi toe menenoe zhody, ot ruskoho naroda klîčenoe" [50.8–11].

56. Eremin *Ivan Višenskij*, 304.

57. See Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj i joho tvory,* 191–93; K. Studyn'skyj, "[Review of] I. Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj i joho tvory* (L'viv, 1895)," *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenka* 5, no. 1 (1895): 39–40; A. Krymskij (Kryms'kyj), "Ioann Vyšenskij, ego žizn' i sočinenija," *Kievskaja starina* 50–51 (1895): 211–47; Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze Unii brzeskiej,* 255–60; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury,* vol. 5 (1927), 324.

58. See Eremin, "Neizvestnyj pamjatnik ukrainskoj publicistiki konca XVI veka"; idem, *Ivan Višenskij,* 304–305.

59. On Hypatius Potej's writings and critical literature on him, see L. Je. Maxnovec', *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk,* vol. 1: *Davnja ukrajins'ka literatura (XI–XVIII st.)* (Kyiv, 1960), 466–71.

60. 'Αντίῤῥησις *abo apologia przeciwko Krzysztofowi Philaletowi* . . . (Vilnius, 1600). The Ruthenian version of the work appeared in print before the Polish edition (Vilnius, 1599).

61. In other words, the reader should not read the *Opisan'e i oborona sъ boru ruskoho berestejskoho* (Vilnius, 1597), which is the Ruthenian translation, made by Hypatius Potej, of Piotr Skarga's *Synod Brzeski* (Cracow, 1597). It is generally assumed that under the pseudonym "Christopher Philaleth" Prince Ostroz'kyj commissioned a Protestant to write the 'Αποκρίσις *abo odpowiedź na xiążki o synodzie brzeskim* . . . (Ostroh, 1597). The Ruthenian edition appeared in print in Ostroh in 1598 (or 1599). The work, which offered a reply to Skarga's *Synod Brzeski,* has usually been attributed to the Calvinist Martin Broniewski (cf. Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 296).

62. "Pojdimъ že do postupъ ku toho soboryšča ixъ protivnoho: jakij bylъ, hde, i na kotoromъ mest[cu], i sъ kimъ ? Xočešъ li vedati, xrestijanъskij [brate], čytaj sobe knižъki Ruskie, drukovanye (u Vilьni, vъ roku 1597), ne tye, na kotorye Philjaletъ o[dpisъ] čynitъ , ale druhie, kotorymъ napisъ : "Spravedlivoe opisanьe postupku i spravy synod[u Berestejskoho] (P. Gil'tebrandt [ed.], *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury v zapadnoj Rusi,* vol. 3 [= Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, no. 19] [St. Petersburg, 1903], 503).

63. "Xotjažъ i to dobre vedaemъ, ižъ prot[ivnicy (na]šy) hdekolьvekъ ixъ dostati mohutь palja[tъ], (a to,) žeby sja ljude *xitrosti ixъ* ne dovedali (Gil'tebrandt, *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury,* vol. 3, 503). In the introduction to his O *rządzie i jedności Kościoła Bożego* . . . (1590), Skarga said much the same about the fate of the first edition of his work (1577): "Bo jako mam sprawę i skutek sam ukazuje, . . . wykupiła je bogatsza Ruś i popaliła" (P. Gil'tebrandt [ed.], *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury v zapadnoj Rusi,* vol. 2 [= Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, no. 7] [St. Petersburg, 1882], 529). Cf. Vyšens'kyi's reaction to Skarga's comments in his *Kratkoslovny otvît Feodula...protiv...pisanija Petra Skarhi* [131.14–21; 136.14–28].

64. A. S. Zernova, "Tipografija Mamoničej v Vil'ne (XVII vek)," in *Kniga. Issledovanija i materialy.* Sbornik 1 (Moscow, 1959), 207–208. In her study Zernova observed that this printed work is not mentioned in a single bibliography (207).

65. See G. Ja. Golenčenko (Halenčanko), "Novye materialy po istorii polemičeskoj literatury i pis'mennosti XVI v.," in *Istorija knigi, istočnikovedenie i bibliotečnoe delo (Sbornik naučnyx statej),* ed. L. I. Zbralevyč et al. (Minsk, 1984), 77–90; idem, *Idejnye i kul'turnye svjazi vostočnoslavjanskix narodov v XVI-seredine XVII v.* (Minsk, 1989), 176–80. I should add that Halenčanko's investigation corroborates the results of my comparative examination of *ERB* and *JD.* Unfortunately, I did not acquire his 1984 article until I had completed my own study. I am indebted to Dr. I. Z. Myc'ko, Institute of Social Sciences, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, for originally acquainting me with some of Halenčanko's research.

66. See Golenčenko, "Novye materialy," esp. 79–83. Suffice it to compare the first and second *artikuly* in *ERB* with what is found in Potej's tract: (*ERB*) "1. Jako v kostelî rimskom ne pytajutsja biskupove svoix ovečok v premînax i vymyslox svoix, kotoryx v kostel vnostjat, ale što postanovjat, to kažut svoim ovečkam deržati, a oni tež sluxajut pastyrev svoix,—takže by i v Rusi byti melo" [59.32–60.1]; (JD) "*Ale v kostele rymъskom ne pytajutъ se o tom episkopove svoix ovečok, tolko što postanovjat, ko kažut svoim ovečkam derъžati. A oni tež* jako ovcy *sluxajut pastyrej svoix*, i vedajuči že im rjad v cerkvi božoj poručen, povelenьe tvorjatь, a v spravy ix ne vtručajutъ sja, *takъže by i Rusi byti melo*, aby koždyj svoeho povolanьja smotrel . . ." [Sig. V[3r]]. (*ERB*) "2. Jak durnye i besčestnye patriarxi ničoho slavnoho i požitočnoho, priezdžajuči, v zemli sej ne činjat'; jak Ierimia učinil, tolko xlopov prostyx, ševcov, sedelnikov i kožemjakov nad episkopov preložil i uves porjadok cerkovnyj, ot duxovenstva otnjavši, svîtskim ljudem v moc dal, v čom velikoe ubližene vlasti episkopskoj učinil [60.1–6]; (*JD*) "*Što este za korystь s tyx patryjarxov svoix teperešnix meli, što za nauku, što za pryklady dobrye . . . koli tut pryežьdžali, čym vas utešili,* što za pametku po sobe zostavili. *Esli tolko tuju xlopov porstyx, ševčov, sedelnikov, kožemjakov, nad episkopov preložyli, a uvesь porjadok cerkovnyj ot duxovonьstva odьnjavšy, svetskim ljudjam v moc podali. Izdali to nevelikoe ubliženьe vradov episkopъskix,* čto napisali u svoix pryvilьjax bratstvu novomu nadanyx . . . [Sig. D[1r–v]].

67. The complete title of *JD,* which was published in Vilnius in 1597, reads as follows: "Spravedlivoe opisanьe postupku i spravy synodovoe i oborona zhody i edinosti sъveršennoe, kotoraja se stala na synode berestejskom v roku 1596, naprotiv javnoho falьšu i otvary synodu jakohosь zmyšlenoho a radšej sъborišča pokutnoho heretyčeskoho v domu pryvatъnomь heretyčeskom otpravovanoho. Čerez odnoho z preložonyx duxovnyxъ cerkvi ruskoe" (H. Ja. Halenčanko et al., *Kniha Belarusi, 1517–1917. Zvodny kataloh* [Minsk, 1986], 78). I am grateful to Dr. O. P. Lixačeva of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg for providing me with a microfilm of the volume.

68. See Halecki, *From Florence to Brest,* 366–69.

69. Notwithstanding the title, Potej's tract devotes far more attention to the negotiations between the Ruthenians and the civil authorities, as well as the mission of Potej and Terlec'kyj to Rome, than to the Orthodox "countersynod" in Brest (see Halenčanko, "Novye materialy," 85–86).

70. Cf. Golenčenko, "Novye materialy," 84.

71. See *JD,* Sig. A[3r].

72. See n. 66 above.

73. See n. 66 above.

74. "3. Jako ot nevolnik do pana, jako ot stradelcev patriarxov otorvavšisja do svobodnoho i nîkim nevladomoho papy pristati volîli" [60.6–8].

75. "4. Jako to ne čudo sja stalo, iž z vina voda sja učinila v zhodnoj mši rimskoe vîry popa na pravoslavnoe vîry prestolî otpravovanoj, ale tak, omylkoju i trafunkom, sja toe prilučilo" [60.8–11].

76. Thus, for example, whereas *artikul* 2 occupies more than ten pages of text in Eremin's edition, the discussion of *artikul* 3 is limited to less than half a page.

77. See Goldblatt, "Vyšens'kyj's Idea of Reform, 57–63.

78. Acts 20.28: "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has placed you as bishops to rule the Church of the Lord and God ." In his treatment of *artikul* 2 Vyšens'kyj cites this crucial verse and provides a commentary on it [73.35–75.1].

79. ". . . jako ž i oni [i.e., the bishops], bezplodnymi v vîrî i žitii, činena i ednana byti maet, no svjatymi i duxovnaho razuma dostihšimi, i na pročaja xuly, lъž i klevetu, ot nix na blahočestie i emu poslîdujuščix ryhnenuju, . . ." (8.31–9.2).

80. On the dating of chapter 3, see Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij,* 297–301; I. Z. Myc'ko, "Ostrožskij kul'turno-prosvetitel'nyj centr i ego bor'ba protiv ideologičeskoj èkspansii katolicizma i unii na Ukraine (1576–1636)," Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskix nauk (L'viv, 1983), 19.

81. "Lîpše bo vam bez vladyk i bez popov, ot diavola postavlenyx, do cerkvi xoditi i pravoslavie xranîti, neželi s vladykami i popami ne ot Boha zvannymi, u cerkvi byti i s toe sja ruhati, i pravoslavie popirati" [24.11–14].

82. "'Spasajtesja, bratija moja, sami, a pastyrmi spastisja ne možete.' Čemu? 'Dlja toho, iž oni o spasenii ne tolko vašem, ale i o svoem ni malo ne mysljat'" [71.19–20]. This type of affirmation is the culminating point in Vyšens'kyj's attack on false pastors in chapter 3: "Ne popy bo nas spasut, ili vladyki, ilí mitropolity, ale vîry našee tajnstvo pravoslavnoe s xraneniem zapovedej božiix—toe nas spasti maet" [24.4–17].

83. "Spasajtesja vîroju; spasajtesja zapovîdmi evanhelskimi; spasajtesja zakonom otčeskim; spasajtesja čistym i cîlomudrym žitiem" [71.29–30].

84. Cf. the counsel given to those in search of spiritual understanding in *E:* "Pervoe, xto xočet na tot stepen duxovnyj vъsxoditi po svjatyx drevnix . . . podobaet emu zapovîdi xristovy . . . sobljusti dobrotvoreniem, blahimi dîly. . . . Potom podobaet emu otvreščisja mira i jaže v mirî, imînij, maetnosti, roditelej i druhov, ljubve ploti, obniščati dobrovolne" [330.35–41]. The "true pastor" is obliged to subordinate his life-style to the "perfect advice" given in the Gospel according to which one must embrace voluntary poverty and follow Christ. Cf. Jesus' response to the rich young man's question, "What shall I do?" (Mt. 19.16–30).

85. See A. Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (London, 1966), 106.

86. It is noteworthy that in patristic literature on the ascetic life one frequently finds a treatment of the "five steps" which represent a progression from the thought that develops in the human mind (or heart) to the passion that makes it a slave to that thought (see G. Maloney, S.J., *Russian Hesychasm. The Spirituality of Nil Sorskij,* Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 269 [The Hague and Paris, 1973], 78–83.

87. *ERB* is the only work attributed to Vyšens'kyj which names a particular treatise by Dionysius: "Po tom pjatom stopnju, to est konečnoj niščetî, xotjaščomu svjaščenstvo postihnuti i tajnstvo vîry razumîti inačej,—reče,—ne moščno, tolko prežde podobaet emu sja očistiti; očistivšižsja, prosvîtitisja: prosvîtivšižsja, soveršitisja,—o čom čitaj Deonisia Areopahita. 'O svjaščennonačalii' i uzriši, iž pravdu movlju" [52.24–28]. The reference here may not be to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*—as most scholars assert—but rather to the *Celestial Hierarchy* in particular or the two works (seen as one entity) in general (see G. M. Proxorov, "Korpus sočinenij s imenem Dionisija Areopagita v drevnerusskoj literature," *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 31 [1976]: 354)

88. I.e., Vyšens'kyj's aim in *ERB*—unlike that of Dionysius—was not to affirm the link between the "ecclesiastical hierarchy" and the "achievement of the three steps of mystical ascent," for which the hierarchy administered the Sacraments [*EH* 5.3 (*PG* III, 504)] (see J. Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition [100–600]* [Chicago, 1971], 346).

89. In this way, Vyšens'kyj seeks to underscore the immediate connection between the "five steps" which comprise the path of the Gospel and the Dionysian "three steps" which permit one to achieve, "as much as attainable, assimilation to God and union with him" [*CH* 3.2 (*PG* III, 165]. In both cases, the goal was salvation, which—according to Dionysius—"cannot occur otherwise than by the deification of those who are saved" [EH 1.3 (*PG* III, 373]. (On the definition of salvation as deification, see J. Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 343–49). One should note that in the *Spiritual Spectacle* (*Pozorišče myslennoe*) Vyšens'kyj's treatment of Dionysius focuses almost exclusively on the "first step" (i.e., purification): "Ko prosvîščeniju žь, po Dîonisiju Areopahitu i cerkovnomu duxovnomu podvižnomu slîdu, pervy stîpînь—očiščenie; ot očiščenija vxodit v prosvîščenie; ot prosvîščenьja—v sovîršenie i krajnîe verxovnîjšee blahoslovie; očiščeniju žь načalo—inočestvo, otrečenie mira, bîhstvo mira i otlučenie čelovîk, hora, peščera, podvih s postiničestvom na sъ vlečenie vetxoho čelovîka i oblečenie v novoho (po isccelenьju strastîj" (*Pozorišče myslennoe* [212.9–15]. In the epistle to Sister Domnikija Vyšens'kyj establishes a link between Dionysius' "three steps" (with emphasis once again on the ascetic dimension) and the salvation of believers: one who has not been purified and has conquered the passions in the "wilderness" cannot help others: "I pervoe ubo čudujusja semu, jako pan Jurko [i.e., Jurij

Rohatynec'] vedjašče estestvo čelovîčeskoe nemoščno sušče, strastno, hrîšno i vsîmi uzami aernyx duxov zloby zvjazano,—bez ispytanija, iskusa, nakazanija, očiščenija, prosvîščenija i sveršenija, po Dionisiju Areopahitu, ne v činu nedužnyx, ale zaraz v' zdravyx, očiščennyx, prosvîščenyx i sveršennyx—čelovîka tvorit i razumîet.... Vidiši li, hospože Domnikie, jak pan Jurko ne vîstъ našeho slîda, po činu i stepeni k Bohu privodjaščeho, ale zaraz na verxovnyj xristov stepenъ vskočil i v hordostь mnînija (polzovati druhix sebî neopolerovavšim i strastej mirskix nesovlekšim povelîvaet) vpal" [161.21–162.21].

90. Goldblatt, "Vyšens'kyj's Idea of Reform," 49–50.

91. See Schmemann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology,* 101–113.

The Uses of Authority and the Authority of Use: Philological Praise and Blame in Early Modern Rus′

DAVID A. FRICK

(For they are) ever learning, and never able to
come to the knowledge of the truth.
2 Timothy 3.7

Pressed by his Muscovite interlocutors in February 1627 to defend his catechism of the Orthodox faith, the Ruthenian archpriest Lavrentij Zyzanij twice attempted the Greek offensive, challenging his opponents to match his philological skills: "in the Greek language it is said thus; who among you knows Greek?" Twice the Muscovite side responded with what was becoming a standard defense against the Greek gambit: in practical terms, "Greek texts" meant, for the Muscovite side, the new editions printed in corrupt form in the Latin West; thus while Greek authority remained a part of the Muscovite program, Greek texts had lost their practical authority; Greek authority had passed to Muscovy. And twice Zyzanij was forced to back down, granting that neither did the Ruthenians accept the new Greek texts.[1]

We know, of course, that Zyzanij was lying here, apparently for his own immediate interests, which may have ranged from such sublime matters as receiving patriarchal approval for his catechism to such mundane concerns as saving his neck. The Ruthenian program for sacred philology in the early seventeenth century made Greek authority its foundation and did not hide—sometimes even defended—the fact that the texts in which it placed that authority were the new humanistic editions of the Latin West. In fact, the prefaces to the 1623 and 1624 printings of Chrysostom that were the pride of the Kievan press in those days stated quite specifically that the new Slavonic editions had been corrected according to "the most reliable Greek archetype, which was most excellently imprinted in the city of Eton" (i.e., in Protestant England). And it was Zyzanij who had done the correcting.[2]

Zyzanij's original pro-Greek position reflected the dominant Ruthenian program and lexicon of sacred philology of the early seventeenth century. This program can be recovered from the prefaces to the new Slavonic editions of the "classics" of Orthodox spirituality that were produced in the first half of the seventeenth century. *Books* (*книги*)[3] or *codices* (*зводы*)[4] or *exemplars* (*еξемпляры*)[5] were either *copied by hand* (*перомъ начертати*; *преписовати*)[6] or *printed* (*типомъ начертати*).[7] They were then *published* by a *printing house* (*Типографіа или Друкарни*; *издати*; *печатарскимъ дѣломъ изъображати и написоватися книгамъ*; *художествомъ Типографіи издати*; *Типом издати*; *маістерствомъ типографскимъ изображати*).[8] *Errors* (*растлѣніе*; *блудъ*; *порокъ*; *погрѣшеніе*; *помылка*)[9] had crept into the books and codices through the copying activities of scribes who had corrupted them either through *ignorance* (*преписуютъся невѣжами*; *с простоты и нерозсудку*),[10] or *negligence* (*з

неострожности),[11] or *malice* (*фалшуютъ; фалшиве тлумачат*).[12] Since the books were corrupt it was necessary to *correct* or *cleanse* or *order* them (*исправити; очищати; причинити; благочинно располагатися; поправовати и кориговати; чинно расположити*).[13] That correction was to be undertaken according to the Greek *archetype* (*греческiй архiтипъ*),[14] Greek *books* (*греческiя книги*),[15] the Greek *codices* (*грецкiя зводы*),[16] or Greek exemplars (*въ крецкихъ засъ всѣхъ eξемплярахъ*).[17] Errors included *alterations* (*одмѣна; отмѣняютъ*),[18] *additions* (*ново ничтоже отнюдъ неприложихомъ*),[19] deletions (*выскробуютъ и выкидаютъ; ниже и мало что от преждних отяти дерзнухомъ; съкращенный*),[20] and *false interpretations/translations* (*фалшуютъ; фалшиве тлумачатъ*).[21]

Authority resided in the *Greek original*, which was to be preferred to *Latin translations* (*барзѣй Орыиналы Грецкiи вѣры годны сутъ, нижели Латинскiи переклады*).[22] Many texts spoke of translating into Slavonic from "the true Greek [dialect]" (*отъ истиннаго Греческаго*);[23] this was presumably an echo of what was known in Western discussions as the *graeca veritas*. Old Slavonic manuscripts held a kind of secondary authority for some. Slavonic was, for them, a language more nearly capable of rendering Greek texts than was Latin.[24] A *collation/comparison* (*изслѣдовати; слѣдовати; eξаминовати; зносити*)[25] of Greek and Old Ruthenian manuscripts revealed, for these philologists, an absolute "harmony as to the truth."[26] Thus one could speak in the same breath of "Greek manuscripts and the Slavonic archetype" (*Греческiя Книги и Славенскiй архiтипъ*).[27]

Correction was a *gift* (*даръ Корректорства*).[28] It was to be carried out by *learned men* (*Мужъ Еллинскихъ и Славенскихъ искусный; за исправленiемъ Людей Учоныхъ*),[29] by men "artfully trained in the 'Helleno-Greek' and the 'Illyrian' languages" (*в Еллиногреческомъ и Иллирическомъ языцѣхъ художнѣ искоусныхъ*).[30] Correction was represented as the straightforward matter of discovering "how it lies in the Greek" (*якоже въ греческомъ лежитъ*).[31] In one instance the editors acknowledged the existence of *variant readings* (*произволники*) and specified that these had been placed in the *margins* (*на Краех*).[32]

This then was the general program. I have presented this survey, drawn from Titov's *Materijaly*, as if there were no dissensions within Ruthenian society on issues of sacred philology. And indeed, at least as far as the elite that took part in the translating, correcting, editing, and printing of books was concerned, there seems to have been some sort of consensus on a Greek-based program for sacred philology and thus on a philological lexicon. We have to listen carefully to the arguments presented in the prefaces, annotations, and polemical tracts to infer the possible presence of dissent on these issues. The *Leitourgiarion* of 1629 specifically defended the Orthodoxy of the Venetian Greek edition according to which it was corrected.[33] (This was printed after Zyzanij's return from Moscow: was this defense of Western Greek editions a response, however indirect, to Muscovite

objections, or were similar doubts also being expressed in Rus′?) And yet, other editions acknowledged their use of printed Greek editions in matter-of-fact terms as if these were generally accepted authorities;[34] this leaves us to wonder to what extent this was a hotly debated question in Rus′. Although many editors argued for the need to correct, and to correct according to the Greek, one text reflected a retreat from the notion of a radical revision.[35] But again, these arguments were so perfunctory that one wonders how loud the opposition was. For most, Greek was the "original," even for Old Testament Scripture. And yet, there was the isolated voice that exploited the entire "Protestant" program of "original languages" and granted authority to Hebrew texts (*яко зъ жидовского старого теξту читаемъ; яко зъ жидовского перекладаютъ*).[36] In spite of the practical importance of Latin texts, no one—least of all the Uniates—defended their authority in public.

My point of comparison is the rather more raucous exchange of views on matters of sacred philology that had taken place in the Polish-speaking context a few decades earlier.[37] I have organized the scattered, disordered, and often isolated comments from the Ruthenian prefaces into a full philological lexicon following the more complete and systematic treatments of the problems found in the works of such Polish biblists as Szymon Budny and Jakub Wujek (who were certainly on the minds of at least some of the Ruthenian philologists). *Ruthenia docta* was, among other things, also "Polish speaking." One important sparring partner in the establishment of this Ruthenian lexicon for sacred philology was precisely the one that was seldom acknowledged in these documents of official Ruthenian spirituality: the Polish (especially, by now, the Polish Catholic) version. The Ruthenian lexicon would appear to have been a combination of some perhaps traditional terms (*зводъ, исправити, растлѣти*) and a certain number of obviously new and borrowed terms (*архітипъ, корректорство, еξаминовати, корыговати*). But even the traditional terms *seem* often to have been used in accordance with the new sacred philology of Western Europe.

Since the general structure of the philological debate had been in some ways common to the universal Church since late antiquity, it is often difficult to *prove* that the Ruthenians borrowed from the Poles. Still, the proven fact that Ruthenians were avid and often—but not always—secret readers of Polish Bibles, the frequent coincidence of Polish and Ruthenian terminology,[38] and, especially, the similarity of polemical stances based on programs for sacred philology make it all but certain that the Polish debates were a source of materials, questions, strategies, terms, and concepts for Ruthenian sacred philologists and cultural/confessional polemicists.

Two examples. The Ruthenians seem to have drawn on both the Catholic and the non-Catholic Polish programs in their defense of a Greek-based Orthodox Slavic sacred philology. On the one hand, they could defend a correction and translation of sacred texts according to the Greek "original" since, as the preface to the *Leitourgiarion* of 1629 put it: "if we are not to correct [the books] according

to that dialect in which they were written and transmitted, then I do not know according to what" (Titov 1982:210). Here they were echoing "Protestant" defenses of "original languages" against "translations." As the radical Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny had put it: "if a translation is not made directly from that language in which the books were written, but is passed through another language, it cannot be genuine or perfect" (Budny 1572:bii[r]).

On the other hand, Mohyla's argument in the *Euchologion* of 1646 against the need for major corrections could point to the fact that Slavonic manuscripts were in general agreement with the Greek and that

> if there are any sort of mistakes or errors in [the manuscripts] they do not threaten our salvation. . . . Errors [in these manuscripts] partially arose from the simplicity and the injudiciousness of the correctors and also partially from the carelessness of the copyists (Titov 1982:371).

This was an echo of (or perhaps it was directly influenced by) the Catholic defense of the Vulgate found in the preface to the Wujek New Testament of 1593:

> For although we do not deny that in the common Latin New Testament . . . there are some sorts of errors, which crept into the holy books not out of any malice, but either from the inability or carelessness of the scribes who copied or the printers who printed, nonetheless, they are the very minor and inconsequential sort that cannot disturb the Christian faith in the least (Wujek 1593:4).

Both texts reflected the concerns of an established Church to consolidate its authority and the authority of its "Vulgate" (whether Greek, Latin, or Slavonic) by arguing that any mistakes found were inconsequential (the result of negligence or ignorance, not of malice) and in no way harmful to correct faith: thus there was no room for *unauthorized* (this was the issue in both cases) correction.

But the real influence was not so much in the terminologies and polemical strategies, not so much in the answers to questions, as in the questions themselves, in the decision to place importance on particular problems and to pose the problem in a particular fashion. Consider, for example, a long textual note in the preface to the 1623 edition of Chrysostom. At issue here, first of all, was the passage at 1 Cor. 8.6. After the generally accepted reading—"But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him"—the new Slavonic Chrysostom included the text found in a few early Greek testimonies: "and one Holy Spirit, in whom are all things, and we in him." Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj felt the need to give a list of reasons for retaining this passage as a correct reading: (1) it was "theological," that is, it reflected correct doctrine; (2) Greek "theologians" (i.e., Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, John of Damascus, and Chrysostom himself) accepted the reading in their books; and (3) Slavonic "books," both old manuscripts and printed, had this reading. Further, Kopystens'kyj urged the

reader "not to object to the fact" that the editors had accepted as genuine Scripture the "story of the woman taken in adultery" (Jn. 7.53–8.11), "*even if we do not find it in Chrysostom*" (emphasis added). Likewise with the reading at 1 Jn. 5.7 ("For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one"): "*even if it is not found in some codices, nonetheless, we receive it*" (emphasis added; Titov 1982:62).

Kopystens'kyj was clearly at pains to find "Greek" answers to these questions. But the questions themselves were "Latin." The last example cited was perhaps the most famous. This was the so-called *comma johanneum* that Erasmus had first deleted from his *Novum Instrumentum*. This deletion caused great concern among Catholics and conservative Protestants, and, in the name of concord, Erasmus offered to restore the reading if a Greek testimony could be found. It was promptly found—or rather (almost certainly) invented—in the Codex Montfortianus, and Erasmus now restored the text, this time to the great lament of Antitrinitarians.[39] This was a good example of the intersection of confessional politics and sacred philology. Textual criticism and common sense told many people that the passage was suspicious, but the important thing at the time was to draw the lines between Antitrinitarians and everyone else. Kopystens'kyj accepted this mainstream Western argument, and he went the extra mile by adding another trinitarian reading on very weak evidence at 1 Cor. 8.6.[40] This would seem to betray one or both of the following: that Kopystens'kyj was combatting holdover Antitrinitarians among the Ruthenian elite, or (more likely in my opinion) that he was playing to Uniates and Catholics here, seeking to distance "official" Orthodoxy from its "Antitrinitarian" sins of the preceding decades.

The *pericope de adultera* (Jn. 7.53–8.11) was less controversial, but Kopystens'kyj's treatment of it once again placed his authoritative version of Ruthenian sacred philology in the Western mainstream. Here, too, the discussion had begun with Erasmus, who had reviewed the evidence (including the absence of the passage in Chrysostom, among others), evidently suspected the authenticity of the passage, but could not bring himself to delete it because "its themes of forgiveness and repentance no doubt appealed to him, and he badly wanted to consider it genuine."[41]

One wonders then just how Greek was the Ruthenians' Greek. Meletij Smotryc'kyj's *Homiliary Gospel* of 1616 was advertised as a translation from Greek and Slavonic, but the Gospel pericopes were actually transliterations and adaptations from Szymon Budny's Antitrinitarian Bible and New Testament of 1572 and 1574.[42] Mohyla's 1638 correction of Smotryc'kyj's edition, advertised as having been "once again translated anew from the Greek and the Slavonic languages into Ruthenian," was actually a partial correction of Budny's readings of the Bible (in the Cyrillic garb given them by Smotryc'kyj) according to the Calvinist Gdańsk Bible of 1632.[43] "Greek" readings offered in the course of polemics and in discussions of sacred philology may often have been drawn from the detailed textual and interpretative apparatus (given in Polish) that is to be

found in Wujek's Bible of 1599. When the Uniate Smotryc'kyj wished to co-opt the Greek authority of the Orthodox, he pointed out that, were it not for Italian academies, there would have been no new flourishing of Greek studies (Smotryc'kyj 1628a:139/592). The outlines of "Greek" biblical philology were available in Erasmus' bilingual Greek-Latin *Novum Instrumentum* and in its many successors.

There is nothing particularly surprising or shameful in the fact (assuming it is one) that this Greek-based Ruthenian sacred philology owed so much to contemporary Western (especially Polish) debates on the textual criticism of Holy Scripture: the Ruthenians were in the process of entering the Western world of late humanism, where Greek was an authority for use by some (most Protestants) and an authority to be subverted or co-opted by others (Catholics). The Ruthenians of the early seventeenth century—less bothered by issues of influence and originality than their Ukrainian and Russian heirs—simply set about borrowing and adapting whatever could be put to use, whatever could be made to appear Greek, in charting an Orthodox course.

The halcyon days of Christian humanist philology were long gone by the time the Ruthenians entered the fray. Relatively rigid Protestant and Catholic positions had long been established. Even more important, in the Polish context both sides had had time to work out responses to Szymon Budny's wide-ranging examination of the reliability of extant texts of Holy Scripture.[44] The result was the establishment of two "Vulgates"—one Latin, the other Greek—the authority of each of which was implicated in the authority of the associated Churches. Thus the authority of the text could be bolstered by a variety of philological arguments, but it could also derive its authority from its use in the Church.[45] And the Church, in turn, could establish its authority by appeal to its own version of Scripture. Public pronouncements concerning sacred philology had become part of a well-developed rhetoric of philological invective that could be used to establish or undermine authority; these pronouncements often had little to do with the more practical concerns of comparing texts and weighing variants. In this, too, the Ruthenians were following in the footsteps of the Latin West, which, quite early in the game, had turned philology into

> part of the humanist's arsenal for public disputation. Philology was very literally the handmaiden of rhetoric, and it served not so much to promote the advancement of knowledge as to discredit particular humanists in the eyes of a circumscribed audience of patrons and other humanists (Grafton 1983:12).

In its crudest and most direct form, this type of argument said: I am a *homo trium* [and more] *linguarum peritus*; my opponent is an illiterate ink-smearer.

Here, too, the Ruthenians could have drawn (and I suspect *did* draw) inspiration from some of the more poisonous Polish pens.[46] Szymon Budny, as was his wont, was direct (and somewhat sardonic) but relatively restrained: "Thus you see clearly," he wrote, after cataloguing the mistakes in his opponent's translation

of the Bible, "how languages avenge the wrongs done to them upon those who disdain them and try to translate Holy Scripture without them" (Budny 1572:bii^{r}). The rhetoric of Budny's main opponent in the Minor Church, Marcin Czechowic (to choose one of the non-Catholics), and that of some of the Polish Jesuits (that I offend everybody) was seldom so genteel. Czechowic, for example, criticized Wujek's use of the term *arcykapłan* ('archpriest') on stylistic grounds. *We* all know—and everyone knew then—that the issue was not one of style, but whether the Catholic term for priest (*kapłan*) would be granted its claim to biblical legitimacy and authority. And still, Czechowic insisted on the stylistic argument:

> But taking a part of a word from one language, and another part from another—and corrupt [parts] at that, either one or both—and yet daring to say that a word of a foreign language means precisely this in our language, has something alchemistic about it (Czechowic 1594:60).

To charges of alchemy, Czechowic added those of plagiarism: "Father Wujek took almost everything from my edition and placed it in his, covering his tracks by changing it somewhat, lest everyone find him out" (Czechowic 1594:69–70). Wujek's defender, a Jesuit by the name of Marcin Łaszcz, shot back that Budny (*divide et impera!*) was supposed to have said of Czechowic that "barely having learned the Greek alphabet, [he] wished to be taken for Demosthenes" (Łaszcz 1597:10). Moreover, Czechowic himself "took [his] entire translation from the Brest Bible, holding on to it throughout as a drunk holds on to a fence."[47]

The Ruthenians were quick to exploit the rhetoric of philological invective. When Uniate and Catholic polemicists attempted to counter Meletij Smotryc'kyj's arguments, they often aimed their weapons at his erudition and philological apparatus. Ilja Moroxovs'kyj went so far as to claim that "Theophil Ortholog" (i.e., Meletij Smotryc'kyj as author of the *Threnos* of 1610) had made his heretical arguments partially out of bad faith, and "partially out of a lack of knowledge of the Slavonic language" (Moroxovs'kyj 1612:88). (Recall that Smotryc'kyj would soon become the author of the grammar of Church Slavonic that stood as *the* authority for two hundred years.) Smotryc'kyj's Uniate and Catholic opponents in the period after the illegal restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 unmasked the archbishop as the author of anonymous polemical pamphlets by his "affected style, by the childish-stupid phrasing, and by the confounded sense from the interwoven words (by which [he] passed [him]self off as a wise one with the simple people"; further, by his "most wanton style," by his "invented morosophic words," by the "incomprehensible confusion *sensus insensati* [of insensate sense]."[48] Later in the decade, the Protestant (and pseudo-Orthodox) polemicist Gelazius Diplic (1633:33) sent the now-Uniate Smotryc'kyj to read the entry for "mixed speech" in Grzegorz Knapski's *Thesaurus polono-latino-graecus* (Cracow, 1621), so that he might learn that unnecessary macaronisms were bad style. If Smotryc'kyj's opponents attempted to argue philologically, he turned the same derisive weapon against them. The Uniate Smotryc'kyj (1629:6^{v}/

707), for example, ridiculed his Orthodox opponent Andrij Mužylovs'kyj for pretending to cite the evidence of the Hebrew text: "Although, o Rabbi, you know Hebrew uncommonly well from Calepinus . . ."[49] The assumption behind this attitude was that Ruthenians (and especially Mužylovs'kyj) had no business pretending they could read Hebrew. In similar fashion, the Uniate Smotryc'kyj (1629:6ᵛ/707) derided Orthodox preachers who, only a few years earlier, had fulminated against the very fact of sermonizing, and who now drew all of their "Orthodox" sermons from Polish and Latin sources (of which practice Smotryc'kyj—he could afford to be "honest" now—claimed first-hand knowledge).

A crucial part of this rhetoric of philological praise and blame was argument from etymology. In many of the "classic" statements of the art of etymology, there was a belief that the science restored real essences to words, that it undid the effects of the destruction of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of the languages. A word traced to its root was a word that could again partake—at whatever remove—in the divinely or naturally given correlation of words and things.[50]

There seem to have been some true believers among the lunatic fringe of late humanism—at least if we are willing to assume that the exercises in the art of fanciful etymology that formed the basis for such projects of national megalomania as Wojciech Dembołęcki's *Wywód jedynowłasnego państwa świata* (Warsaw, 1633) were in good faith. Nowadays we read with considerable amusement these attempts to prove that Polish was the language of paradise. Thanks to Dembołęcki, we know, for instance, that the Latin *cupido* ('desire, passion, lust, greed') is so-called because of its tendency to draw everything *do kupy* ('into a pile, together'); that the Ostrogoths (ancestors of the Polish hussars) were actually *ostrogotowi* ('at absolute readiness'), and the Visigoths (Ukrainian Cossacks) were *wyskoczgotowi* ('ready to jump out').[51] Moreover—which actually makes matters even worse—there was a method to this madness: "Take note, then, Careful Reader, that in etymonizing[52] words, I do not place a letter or syllable after whichever I see fit; rather, according to certain rules, collected with great toil, [I place] that one that necessity requires for the sense of Holy Scripture or historical writing, or for the nature of some word" (Dembołęcki 1633:20; Taszycki 1969:151). But while *we* laugh at the notion that "the original Syriac language that 'Jadam,' Noah, Shem, and Japhet spoke ['gadali'] was none other than Slavonic," we should not forget that the Franciscan Father Dembołęcki provided his contemporaries with a certain amount of mirth as well. The Antitrinitarian Andrzej Wiszowaty (1608–1678) was the author of a mock encomiastic poem, in which it sufficed to repeat Dembołęcki's etymologies verbatim (and in verse) in order to ridicule them.[53] This, and other indications (about which, more later), would seem to show that the "reasonable mainstream" harbored doubts about the etymological project; and yet, these same people continued to use etymology as a rhetorical strategy.

Let us return for a moment to Czechowic. In his polemic with the Polish Jesuit Jakub Wujek, he ironically acknowledged the etymological appropriateness of the Polish Catholic word for Church (i.e., *kościół*) when applied to "pagan and papal temples, and especially to the papal ones, because they keep many bones [*kości*] of dead people there and place them in every altar" (Czechowic 1577:tti^{r}; Frick 1989:127). In a similar tonality of playfulness and spite, Czechowic offered two possibilites for the Catholic word for 'priest.' It might come from the Latin *capellanus* (one 'p' instead of the expected two), which Czechowic derived from *capella* ('she-goat'), a diminutive of *caper* ('goat'). Thus an *arcykapłan* ('archpriest') was really an *arcykozak* or *arcykoziarz*, that is to say a 'chief-goatherd.' Here Czechowic switched in his narration from Polish into Latin in order to describe "politely" but precisely the noted lechery (the "goatishness") of Roman Catholic priests. Carried away by a spirit of mock liberality, Czechowic offered his Jesuit opponent a second possibility: perhaps he would prefer a derivation from the verb *capio* ('I seize'), "since they obviously seize everything" (Czechowic 1594:60; Frick 1989:184–86). Here, too, Czechowic would graciously defer to his opponent's wishes.

This grotesque multiplying of insulting etymologies and the obvious relish with which Czechowic satirized his hapless opponent might lead us to suppose that he did not "believe" in etymologies: an etymology, after all, should be one, not multiple. (And did any contemporary reader miss the "coincidence" that all the suggested etymologies were derisive?) And yet, much of Czechowic's defense of his own translation was also based on a return to essences following the straight and narrow of etymology. One key example: Czechowic, following Budny on this occasion, replaced the accepted Polish words for 'Christian' (*chrześciański/chrześcianin*) with "original" forms (*christiański/christianin*) since these restored the connection with *Christus* that had been lost to Polish phonological change.[54]

What we find then is a sort of conflict between faith in etymologies and skepticism as to their real importance. While the tensions between belief and doubt about what etymologies really signified may have been present in some minds since antiquity,[55] these tensions seem to have become more pronounced in the period of late humanism. In inventing negative, insulting etymologies, many participants in the debates (Czechowic was not alone) seem to have delighted in this learned dance over an abyss of doubt; they seem to have sought the most far-fetched etymologies possible, as if not just the root word, but even the level of the argument would be insulting to the opponent. And yet, when it came to the positive etymologies employed to defend one's own argument, these same scoffers became as pious as could be.

The Ruthenians were addicts of, and adepts at, the same games. When the Orthodox Smotryc'kyj wished to ridicule the Catholics and the Jesuits, he turned Rome (and this was not the only passage where the archbishop seems to have echoed Czechowic) into the "*caput* ['head'] that *capit* ['seizes'] everything";

moreover, the fathers of the Society of Jesus were for him not *Jezuici*, but *Wyzuwici*, from the Polish verb *wyzuwać* ('to deprive, despoil'), because they stole everyone's spiritual and material goods.[56] Smotryc'kyj's opponents responded in kind. Piotr Skarga (1610:ivv) twisted Smotryc'kyj's pseudonym, Theophil Ortholog ("one who loves God and one who writes straight words"), into Krzywolog ("a writer of crooked words"); and Ilja Moroxovs'kyj (1612:ii^{r} and vii^{r-v}) made him into Pseudolog ("a writer of lying words") and Theomach Pornolog ("one who fights against God and a writer of obscene words"). Nor did the Orthodox spare the Uniate Smotryc'kyj once he had crossed the confessional line. A parody *Troparion,* which was circulated in manuscript sometime in the years 1628 to 1633, intoned not, as expected, of "our most holy and reverend father Meletij Smotryc'kyj" ("святого и превелебнаго отца нашего Мелетия Смотрицкаго") but of "our blind and schizoid ass, Mehmentij [cf. Mehmet] the Stinker" ("слѣпого и преполовленнаго осла нашего Мегментия Смрдицкаго").[57]

National genealogies of the early modern period were often informed by etymology. The Ruthenians traced the origin of the name of their nation and language (*славенскій*) in the word for 'glory' (*слава*).[58] But they also considered themselves on occasion Illyrians (and thus heirs of Saint Jerome[59]) as well as Sarmatians (and thus heirs to Japhet[60]). Also, as Sarmatians, they were entitled to claim Ovid as one of their literary forebears, since he had written poetry in the language of the people with whom he had shared his Black Sea exile (i.e., in "Sarmatian").[61] The authorities for these genealogies were found in Polish historiography of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and especially in the work of Maciej Stryjkowski. These multiple genealogies put the Ruthenians in a position of potential internal conflict (were they Slavs, Sarmatians, or Illyrians?); but it also put them in more direct conflict with the Poles, who were seeking to reserve for themselves the noble heritage of Japhet and the Sarmatians, and to represent Rus' as ignoble (sons of Ham rather than Japhet) and uncivilized (heirs to Scythia).[62]

It was in the context of the discussions of national genealogies and etymologies found in the prefaces to the 1623 and 1624 Slavonic editions of Chrysostom that claims were made for the close ties between Slavonic and Greek. Here we discover that "even the most complicated compound Greek word can be translated in Slavonic with an equally complex and compound word, which no other language, not even Latin, can demonstrate" (Titov 1982:74). Slavonic was thus able to render Greek without recourse to the circumlocutions and direct Greek borrowings found in Latin and other languages.

I have probably crossed some sorts of demarcations in my travel from the pseudo-etymology of *Jezuici=Wyzuwici* and the *caput quod omnia capit*, to offensive and obscene puns on a person's name, and onward to the ethnogenesis of the Slavic people and the lineage of the Slavonic language. Nonetheless, all these discussions belong in one context. The purpose and the methods were the

same in all cases: to deride an opponent, or to glorify oneself by establishing a lineage, by "revealing" the root meaning (the etymon) of a name or a title. When we read, then, of the glorious derivations of "Slavic" and "Slavonic," we should also imagine the authors of these etymologies and genealogies as addicts of insulting fake etymologies and obscene puns, and we should imagine them as potential, not-so-naive readers of grotesqueries like Dembołęcki's *Wywód*. The point I am seeking to make is both subtle and commonsensical: probably we should not think of these people as believing too literally in the glorious genealogies they established for themselves by way of etymology; probably they were capable of a very human mixture of two "opposites"—of extreme scepticism, playfulness, and derisiveness, of delight in *almost* baring the emptiness of the topos (when it was a matter of belittling one's opponent), and of wishful thinking, of a sincere desire to believe (when it was a matter of unfurling one's own banner). As elsewhere, the issue was the establishing or the undermining of authority, and philology was one of the tools.

Power and authority came somewhat closer to the surface of philological discussions when they were established on the basis of official documents, decrees, privileges, constitutions, etc. It was on this issue that the old link between textual philology and the practice of diplomacy made itself most directly felt. A classic case at the high end of the scale was the letter that the Uniates alleged had been written to Pope Sixtus IV by the Ruthenian Church and signed by its metropolitan Mysajil in 1476, and in which the Orthodox fold of Rus′ pledged its allegiance to Rome.[63] Orthodox polemicists of the 1610s and 1620s were at pains to prove the letter a pious forgery. The Orthodox Smotryc′kyj (1610:67ᵛ/84) put it in the same category with the *Donatio Constantini*: as in the case of its more famous predecessor, textual criticism revealed the document as a forgery; even those who drew on it admitted that none of the writings of the new and old Doctors of the Roman Church contained such unrestrained praise of the pope. The Uniate Smotryc′kyj found equally philological arguments for the authenticity of the document: there were two copies, not one; one was found in a village Church near Ostroh written "in old script," "already half moth-eaten" (1628a:83/565); a second was "found in the Church of Krewo, in the house of God, among the Church books," and it was "published to the world illustriously in print" (1629:93ᵛ/796).

A cynic might conclude that polemicists for the two sides decided first what position to take and then examined a document to see whether it could be interpreted in their favor. If it *could* be so interpreted (or if its authenticity was not subject to doubt, and thus it *had* to be so interpreted), and if both sides wished (or were forced) to make use of the document, then the polemic focused on interpretation. If one side could (and was in a position to) make no use of a document, the two sides brought out the philological arsenal to prove or disprove authenticity.

Once the possibility of forgery had been accepted as a part of the rules of the game, the weaker party could explain an apparent refusal to obey the authorities

by arguing that it "honestly" believed it had been the recipient of an elaborate hoax rather than an official document. The case in point: as the newly consecrated Orthodox archbishop of Polack, Smotryc'kyj claimed he had ignored a universal from King Sigismund III Vasa in 1621 forbidding him to consecrate priests, because, around that same time, the Uniate monks from the Holy Trinity Monastery had perpetrated a forgery upon the Orthodox. The Uniates, it seems, had removed the seal of Lithuanian chancellor Lew Sapieha from one of his letters and had affixed it to the bogus message they sent to the Holy Spirit Monastery:

> These then were the little tricks of our apostates which they played during this difficult time when we were afflicted, such that we also did not give credence to the universals of His Majesty the King, Our Gracious Lord (Smotryc'kyj 1621b:118/458).

There is something fishy here. I have no difficulty imagining that the two Brotherhood Churches and monasteries (situated, as they were, right across the street from each other, directly under the *Ostra Brama* in Vilnius) really *were* engaged in such pranks and dirty tricks against each other. In one particularly pathetic moment, Smotryc'kyj complained:

> They cause us the greatest pains they can, in word and in deed; they shoot stones from a sling-shot at our monastery; they fling arrows from bows against the foundations and the buildings, and against the Church they fling arrows lit with a sulpher wick; they cast lighted torches over the wall onto the square of that same monastery; into the cornerstones of the walls of the Church they stick pieces of smouldering waxed cloth together with other incendiary preparations and wicks (Smotryc'kyj 1621a:41^{v}/366).

(And probably the Orthodox were giving as much as they got.) But I do not really believe Smotryc'kyj's excuse when it came to the counterfeit seal, and I wonder whether he meant his argument to convince or to stupefy. His logic here was a thing of beauty: You played such dirty tricks on us during this *difficult* time [Smotryc'kyj means "during the time of a Turkish campaign when the Orthodox were subject to the usual charges of treason"; Smotryc'kyj thus attempted to remove the patriotism card from the Uniates' hands]; *therefore*(!), we felt free to ignore the King (especially since we had no intention of complying any way).

Struggles for authority went on not only between Ruthenians and Poles, or between Orthodox and Uniate Ruthenians, but also within the two camps. In keeping with its attitude toward authority, the Uniate side kept its disagreements out of the public view for the most part. On the Orthodox side, however, the very authority of authority became a matter of controversy. The Orthodox Smotryc'kyj (1610:186^{v}/203) gave the positive statement of a vision of Orthodoxy that (drawing on Protestant polemical postures) removed unique authority from the hierarchy (since, in 1610, there was none) and allowed the reading of Holy Scripture to all, including the laity. This general issue became a part of the internal Orthodox debate with the reestablishment of the hierarchy and the gradual transferal of power base from the Cossacks and the Brotherhoods to the hierarchy and the nobles.

Catholic and Uniate printings in this period all came with official marks of approbation. Somewhere, usually at the bottom of the title page, one found the phrase *cum licentia Superiorum*. Inside, before the prefaces or letters of dedication, a more specific *imprimatur* was often included.[64] Excluded books, of course, made their way to the index. Mohyla was sensitive to Uniate and Catholic charges of Orthodox licentiousness, and he probably envied the more strictly organized structures of authorities. While, as far as I know, no attempts were made to institute an official Orthodox inquisition or Orthodox *indices librorum prohibitorum*, Mohyla was clearly engaged in a struggle with old, local, independent publishing centers for control of book production in Orthodox Rus'. In the preface to the *Leitourgiarion* of 1639, the metropolitan complained of pirate editions produced in L'viv "without the knowledge, permission, and blessing" of the hierarchy (Titov 1982:216). Gelazius Diplic dedicated his 1633 diatribe against the Uniate Smotryc'kyj to Mohyla; but the new metropolitan, worried that the Orthodox side might be further compromised by the "heresies" that were again being passed off as Orthodox doctrine, placed anathema upon the book and its author, and he ordered the book burned.[65] With Mohyla the Orthodox argument (like the contemporary Catholic and mainstream Protestant arguments) had come full circle. No one outside the hierarchy had authority to approve texts; and the texts, he argued, had become corrupt due to the "injudiciousness of the correctors . . . and the incautiousness of the scribes, *especially* [my emphasis] in the absence of Orthodox pastors in the Ruthenian Church" (Titov 1982:370–71). A Church derived its authority from correct texts correctly interpreted, and the Church bestowed its approbation, its "ἱεραρχικὴ . . . αὐθεντεία" (as the *Leitourgiarion* of 1629 put it) upon correct readings (Titov 1982:197).

This Ruthenian lexicon of philological praise and blame was poor in content. The Ruthenians spoke of the Greek text, the Greek original, the Greek archetype, etc., as if this were something unequivocal and given. Authority of Slavonic manuscripts was established on the basis of their concord with the Greek text, of their antiquity, script, quantity. Any "alert and intelligent reader" of the Polish debates after Budny (and this phrase from the contemporary lexicon of philological praise describes many of the Ruthenian sacred philologists) could not help but be aware that the establishment of scriptural authority was a much more complicated matter than this. And yet the Ruthenians persisted in employing this patently impoverished philological lexicon in this obviously simplistic manner. I have alluded to what might be termed the "mutedness" of the Ruthenian debates on sacred philology in comparison with the Polish. One of the reasons was because the public Ruthenian discussions were not about philology (as the Polish ones were to a much greater extent): they were, above all, confessional, political, and cultural debates that were argued, on occasion, in philological terms.

I do not mean to suggest that no philology worthy of the name went on in the Ruthenian context. A banal counter-example will serve to prove the point: Meletij Smotryc'kyj cited Scripture in his Polish polemical pamphlets according to a variety of Polish Catholic texts. And yet, he consistently subjected those texts to

a thorough revision according to Greek Scripture, even though the passages corrected were seldom controversial, even though he almost never called attention to the fact of his corrections, and even though he continued this practice from the Uniate side of the fence where it might have caused him some problems.[66] It is only this kind of painstaking collation of texts and their sources that can uncover the true face of Ruthenian sacred philology in the early seventeenth century. My experience with Smotryc'kyj leads me to think it may prove worthwhile to devote more attention to this sort of philologist-detective's drudgery.

What I do wish to point out is the growing tension in early modern Rus' between a vision of a culture based on nature, eternal givens, and divine law, and one based on convention, human contingency, and usage. This tension was beginning to inform the internally contradictory Ruthenian attitudes toward religious belief, politics, sacred philology, etc. Orthodox faith was publicy given, privately negotiated—and the participants in the debates gave themselves away from time to time, allowed us to peek into their complexes about bad faith. Politics were politics as usual: diplomacy and dissimulation. Grammar for the mainstream of the elite, even the grammar of sacred languages, was now caught up in the negotiations between fixity and usage. For Smotryc'kyj, the "benefit" (*пожитокъ*) of Church Slavonic grammar would reveal itself in the give and take of human "experience" (*досвѣдченемъ*).[67]

Much of the Ruthenian elite had adopted Western attitudes that acknowledged, at least in some not quite hidden place, the socially-constructed nature of language, beliefs, and truths. Rus' was quickly replacing a vision of a traditional society structured by divine and eternal givens with one in which the elites who battled each other for authority and power (using philological arguments, among others) were in agreement that their culture was becoming more and more rhetorically structured, defined in the fields of tension between public allegiance to those traditional and sacred givens and private and semi-private negotiations as to their content. The very presence of these tensions, one might argue, marked the entry of Rus' into the early modern West.

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NOTES

1. For a seventeenth-century protocol of the encounter, see "Prenie" 1859. The passages of interest here are on pp. 95 and 99. For a discussion of Zyzanij's trip to Moscow, see also Frick 1992.
2. Titov 1982:57.
3. Titov 1982:21.
4. Titov 1982:89, 144, 178.
5. Titov 1982:279.
6. Titov 1982:187; 210.
7. Titov 1982:187.
8. Titov 1982:21; 21, 142; 21; 46; 187; 99.
9. Titov 1982:144; 187; 197; 210; 371.
10. Titov 1982:210; 371.
11. Titov 1982:371.
12. Titov 1982:415; 415.
13. Titov 1982:18, 23, 53, 58, 84, 92, 119, 130, 132, 188, 192, 210, 503; 58; 130; 140; 216; 135.
14. Titov 1982:61.
15. Titov 1982:58.
16. Titov 1982:89, 178.
17. Titov 1982:279.
18. Titov 1982:217; 415.
19. Titov 1982:221.
20. Titov 1982:415; 221; 145.
21. Titov 1982:414; 414.
22. Titov 1982:279.
23. Titov 1982:22, 18, 192, 210.
24. Titov 1982:74.
25. Titov 1982:173, 256, 342, 427, 503; 178; 216; 370–71.
26. Titov 1982:371.
27. Titov 1982:58.
28. Titov 1982:84, 58.
29. Titov 1982:144; 119.
30. Titov 1982:53.
31. Titov 1982:60.
32. Titov 1982:61.
33. Titov 1982:210.
34. Titov 1982:57.
35. Titov 1982:370–371.
36. Titov 1982:274; 278.
37. On the Polish debates of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation over matters of sacred philology, see Frick 1989 and the literature cited there.
38. Consider the following terminological coincidences (all of them with the same more-or-less precise textual-philological meanings): книги/księgi, преписовати/przepisować, друковати/drukować, блудъ/błąd, помылка/pomyłka, фалшовати/fałszować, исправити/prawić, очистити/oczyścić, отмѣняти/odmieniać, выскробовати/skrobać, край/kraj. For the Polish lexicon of textual criticism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Frick 1989:251–56.
39. On the *comma johanneum* and sixteenth-century biblical scholarship, see De Jonge 1980; Bludau 1902; Bentley 1983:152–53. On the Polish discussions, see Frick 1989:99, 145, 147, 230.
40. The reading Kopystens'kyj accepted—"and one Holy Spirit," etc.—is missing and uncommented in Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum.*
41. Bentley 1983:147. On the Polish discussions, see Frick 1989:99, 147, 230.
42. See Frick 1988:108–10.

43. See Frick 1988:110–15.

44. On Budny as a biblical philologist, see Frick 1989:81–115 and Frick 1994, and the literature cited there.

45. The Council of Trent spoke of "the old Latin Vulgate Edition, which, in use for so many hundred years, has been approved by the Church . . ." (See *Concilium* 1964:91–92.) The Polish Antitrinitarian Marcin Czechowic, certainly in part in response to Budny's criticism of Greek texts, wrote of "the common Greek text, which has long been received and prasied by all." (See Czechowic 1577:tiii[r]; Frick 1989:124, 248–49.)

46. For a brief and general discussion of "insult" (not only of the philological sort) as a device among Polish and Ruthenian polemicists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Peretc 1929. Peretc draws a direct line from Italian humanists to Polish and Ruthenian writers of the early modern period. One of my main points here is that we should see Ruthenian philological discussions of the early seventeenth century as an aspect of this rhetoric of insult.

47. Łaszcz 1597:10. To hold on to something "as a drunk to a fence" is a common Polish idiom; it means (obviously enough) "for dear life." See Krzyżanowski 1972:545–46.

48. *List* 1621:1/733, 36/760, 8/738, 28/753.

49. Even "Calepinus" had become a term of philological derision here. This was the standard multilingual lexicon by Ambrogio Calepino (1435–1511) to which every would-be erudite and polyglot in the period of late humanism had recourse in order to appear erudite and polyglot. It was frequently expanded, reworked, and reedited throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

50. For examples of an argument from etymology, see Otwinowska 1974:111, 180; Bloch 1983:54–58.

51. See Dembołęcki 1633:21, 96; Taszycki 1969:153.

52. And even this word—*etymon*—is to be derived from the Polish: *wied-imion* ("knowledge of names"). See Dembołęcki 1633:8; Taszycki 1969:150.

53. A fragment of "Wiersze Andrzeia Wiszowatego do Xdza Dębołęckiego, Starożytność Języka Polskiego nad wszytkie całego Świata Narody wywodzącego" is published in Taszycki 1969:152–54.

54. See Czechowic 1577:tiii[v]. See also Frick 1989:96, 125, 158–59.

55. Quintilian, for one, was already poking fun at the "perverseness of judgment" and the "most hideous absurdities" that Isidore of Seville would later hold sacred. See Bk. I.vi.32–38 (Quintilian 1953:125–29).

56. Smotryc'kyj 1610:77[r]/93: "Abowiem Rzym *caput quod omnia capit*, a Jezuita wyzuita, co z dobr ludzi wyzuwa."

57. See Golubev 1875:561.

58. See Titov 1982:75, 84.

59. See Titov 1982:62.

60. See Titov 1982:62, 66, 75, 102.

61. Meletij Smotryc'kyj wrote in the introduction to the section of his grammar devoted to prosody that it was Ovid's example that made it possible for the Sarmatians (i.e., in his usage here, the Orthodox Slavs) to write poetry. He cited Stryjkowski's *Kronika* as his source. See Smotryc'kyj 1618:ъ3[v]; Otwinowska 1974:160.

62. King Jan Kazimierz's envoy to the Cossack Host in 1567–58, Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski, described Rus' as a "peasant monarchy" and as a "Tauro-Scythian people" (see *Pamjatniki* 1852:225, 195).

63. The letter has been reprinted in *Arxiv* 1887:193–231.

64. Even Dembołęcki (identified on the title page as "Franciscan, Doctor of Holy Theology and General of the Society for Ransoming Prisoners") argued for the authority of his etymologies on the basis of title-page approbations: "Do not criticize until you have read it, for it was published with the permission and privilege of His Royal Majesty after it had been examined by the theologians and historians appointed to the task." (See Dembołęcki 1633:A1[r]; Taszycki 1969:149.)

65. See the Uniate report of 1635 to Rome in Šmurlo 1928:113–14.

66. Materials documenting Smotryc'kyj's "critical use" of biblical texts are offered in appendices to Frick 1995.

67. See Smotryc'kyj 1618:)(2r. For a study of the tensions between "convention" and "nature" in the culture of early modern England, see Manley 1980.

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From the Romantic Past to the Modern World: Historical-Cultural Underpinnings of Potebnia's Thought on Language

BORIS GASPAROV

Geschrieben steht: Im Anfang war das W o r t!
Hier stock' ich schon! Wer hilft mir weiter fort?
Ich kann das W o r t so hoch unmöglich schätzen,
Ich muß es anders übersetzen,
....
Mir hilft der Geist! Auf einmal seh' ich Rath
Und schreibe getrost: Im Anfang war die T h a t!

(Goethe, *Faust: erster Theil*) [1]

Like those of many towering figures in philosophy, science, and the arts who dominated the European cultural scene in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (such as Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Richard Wagner, Gustave Flaubert, Lev Tolstoy, Friedrich Nietzsche), Potebnia's intellectual world represented a blend of Romantic background, absorbed during his formative years, with ideas of positivism, realism and social justice, predominant at the time of his maturity. In ordinary cases, these two paradigms of thought representing two successive cultural epochs stay as mutually exclusive, irreconcilable opposites; there seems nothing but contrariness between Romantic subjectivity, idealism and introspection, on the one hand, and the positivist emphasis on objective observation of fact and on social environment, on the other, or between the Romantic ideal of organic wholeness, often projected into the primordial past, and the positivist drive for compartmentalization and specialization of knowledge as necessary conditions of progress. Nevertheless, there were some artists and thinkers capable of overcoming these conflicting forces, bringing them together into a unique new whole; in such cases, the very tension between the components of the new system charged it with unusual creative energy and power of persuasion.

Potebnia's lineage from the Romantic concept of word and language is quite apparent. By his own account, as well as that of virtually all of his followers and later biographers, Potebnia's approach to language had been derived from two fundamental ideas originated by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the first third of the century. Those ideas were the understanding of language as an embodiment of creative *energeia* (rather than as a ready-made product—*ergon*), and the notion of "inner form" as the main vehicle through which the creative spirit of language manifests itself in the matter of this language—words and their forms.[2]

According to Humboldt—and Potebnia—every expression in a given language reflects in its etymological background (or at least reflected in the past, before it might be obfuscated by historical changes) a creative idea out of which this expression—in most cases, a single word—had sprung into existence. This

original idea, crystallized (or "incarnated"—using a more authentically Romantic metaphor) in the word, was called by Humboldt the word's inner form, as opposite to its external, purely material form. Inner form is implicitly present in the word as its raison d'être, indicating why this particular phenomenon received representation in the language in this particular material shape. In different languages, words with similar meaning may have different inner forms; for instance, English and Romance *table* is related to the image 'flat board,' while Slavic *stol* — to the image 'being covered (for meals)'; Russian *poezd* refers to the image 'trip' (*poekhat', poezdka*), while English *train,* German *Zug*, Czech *vlák* reflect different variations of the image 'drawing, pulling, dragging.' These words designate similar empirical objects in different ways, reflecting different perceptions of the object chosen by each language in order to capture its meaning in a word. Thus, different inner forms reflect different paths of imagination taken by speakers of different languages in their efforts to find representation for their world experience in the language they speak.

Potebnia carries forth Humboldt's original idea by emphasizing that the inner form of a word always has the character of a tangible, immediately perceivable, vivid image. It is this characteristic of the inner form that allows it to become the crucial formative force in coining the word and shaping its meaning. Due to the presence of a formative image on its background, the meaning of a word—complex and multilayered as it can be from a logical point of view—can be perceived in its totality and immediacy. Thus, a certain word exists for speakers of the language as a unity and can be grasped as a whole, because its meaning was captured in a holistic image created in the past by speaker's imagination and recreated in the minds of every new generation of speakers as they partake in the understanding of this word.

The network of inner forms distributed through the vocabulary of the language accumulates in itself the creative efforts of generations of its speakers. It emerges, in its entirety, as an embodied "genius" of the nation, whose way of viewing the world can be perceived in choices of particular images by which meanings of innumerable words are presented in the language spoken by that nation.

Humboldt's main work, in which this idea outlined, was published posthumously in 1836, under the title: *On Variety in the Structure of Languages and Its Impact on Spiritual Development of the Human Race*.[3] For Potebnia, from his first book (Мысль и язык, 1862) to the later works (volume 1 of Из записок по русской грамматике, 1878, which contained a theoretical introduction dedicated to fundamental problems of the philosophy of language and general linguistics; Из лекций по теории словесности, 1880s, published posthumously in 1905), the concept of inner form stayed at the very core of his thought on language. He retains the sacral connotations, typical for the Romantics, with which the "birth" of the word from an image is described. According to Potebnia, a speaker's thought remains vague, fleeting, volatile until he or she manages to capture it in a vivid image; this is the crucial step at which an immaterial thought becomes incarnated into a tangible word. In describing this process, Potebnia, of

course, does not fail to include references to the Gospel of Saint John (word as incarnation of the God) and Genesis (creation of the world from chaos):

> According to the religious beliefs of all Indo-European peoples, the word is the thought; it represents truth and justice, wisdom and poetry. Together with wisdom and poetry the word was perceived as belonging to the realm of God. There exist myths that express the deification of the word, not to say of the godly word (*logos*) of the Hellenized Jews. The mysterious ties between the word and the essence of the object are maintained not only in the sacred discourse: they remain with words in every-day speech as well.(TL, 173–174)
>
> By using words, man creates a new word from the chaos of impressions.(NTVA, 302)[4]

Such an approach to language can hardly avoid a tinge of nostalgia. The moment when a thought for the very first time met with an image that enabled its expression in a newly coined word, with all creative excitement and freshness of the experience, inevitably belongs to the past. This freshness gradually fades away as the word becomes subjected to repetitive use in language. Eventually the word loses its creative potential altogether, turning into a customary label for a certain meaning accepted by the speakers automatically, without feeling the creative impulse by which that word had initially sprung into life. The language becomes invaded by "imageless" words (*bezòbraznye slova*, as Potebnia calls them, a term inviting paranomastic association with the idea of "ugly words"—*bezobráznye slova*). True, some new words are being created at the same time, thus maintaining to some extent the stock of fresh images in the language; but these new creations are outnumbered by conventionally used words with "dead" or "dying" images. Potebnia also notes that in later times creative efforts aimed at coining new words with fresh inner forms are largely confined to a particular domain of language for which freshness of perception is necessary —namely, to poetry; at the same time, the utilitarian, or "prosaic" use of language predominantly remains in the sphere of the "imageless" words:

> The process of creating symbols can be called the poetic aspect of language, while the process of forgetting the words' inner forms represents, in our view, its prosaic aspect. (TL, 174)
>
> Poetry and prose sprang .... from two different states of thought, those dealing with a vivid and forgotten image. .... Prose can be called direct speech, ... in the sense that it pursues only practical goals, like those of science. Prosaic is the word that expresses its meaning directly, without evoking an image, as well as the whole discourse that does not appeal to the imagery. (NTVA, 309, 368)

This picture of the current state of language prompts a nostalgic retrospective glance at what the language might have been in primordial times, when all existing words were newly and freshly created, and when the "poetic" mode of language, inseparable from vivid inner forms, permeated all facets of its use. Generations of Romantic philologists of the 1800–1830s, following Herder, depicted this idealized original state of language, when man gave names to all

things by the free exercise of his creative spirit, and the subsequent struggle to adapt language to the needs of life and toil, by transparently alluding to sacral history: the golden age, when Adam gave names to all animals and plants in paradise by free outbursts of his creative imagination, followed by the fall from grace.

Potebnia did not escape this typically Romantic yearning for primordial harmony; at least, this attitude can be seen in his early work, most directly dependent on Humboldt and Romantic philology:

> In those times, when the word was not a hollow sign but the fruit of fresh perceptions overwhelming man with the joy of creation—in those times the inherent link between the word and the object was felt with much more vividness and inevitability. (TL, 173)

The strong Romantic foundation upon which Potebnia's theory of language was built made him a pivotal figure in the development of modernist theories of language and verbal art at the turn of the twentieth century. Modernist esthetics and philology revived and reformulated many ideas from the Romantic era that had been suppressed and largely forgotten in the second half of the nineteenth century. Linguists and literary scholars of the modernist epoch, in their polemic against the "positivism" of the preceding era, found in Potebnia a nearly unique figure from that era to whom they could refer in a positive way, a crucial link between the modern state of scholarship and fundamental ideas from the Romantic past. In particular, Potebnia's ideas of originally vivid images dying in the course of conventional use of words resurfaced in the 1910s in the Futurists' concept of the ever continuing process of the "death" of words in conventional language and their "resurrection" in poetry. This idea, expressed in various forms by Shklovsky, Khlebnikov, Jakobson, and Kruchenykh in the 1910s, laid a foundation for the OPOIAZ concept of literature as struggle for constant renewal and the deautomatization of poetic language.

Nevertheless, the Romantic inheritance constitutes only a part of Potebnia's view of language, or, rather, a starting point out of which other components of his theory were evolved. While retaining important components of Romantic philology, Potebnia was able to transpose them in such a way that made them reconcilable with a utilitarian, objectified and socially conscious mode of thinking typical for the time in which he lived and worked. In Potebnia's intepretation, such essentially Romantic notions as the idea of the language's creative spirit manifesting itself in newly "incarnated" words, or the yearning for the original absolute harmony between the inner and external form of the word, i.e., between its poetic figurativeness and conventional use, undergo a process of reshaping. They receive different accents and are viewed in a slightly modified historical perspective. As a result, these ideas acquire a new meaning that makes them reconcilable with the rapid progress of linguistic theory and philological studies characteristic of the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries.

In his later work, *Notes on the Theory of Verbal Art*, Potebnia still retains sacral and poetical connotations in describing the incarnation of thought into the word; to describe this idea, he refers to Tiutchev's poem "Poetry," in which the birth of poetry is depicted through quintessentially Romantic images of incarnation, or descent from heaven, of sacral harmony conquering and pacifying primordial chaos:

Среди громов, среди огней,	Amidst a thunderstorm and flames,
Среди клокочущих зыбей,	Amidst seething waters,
В стихийном пламенном раздоре,	In the iridescent chaos of the elements,
Она с небес слетает к нам—	She descends to us from the heavens,
Небесная к земным сынам,	The heavenly visitor of the sons of earth,
С лазурной ясностью во взоре—	Azure serenity in her glance,
И на бунтующее море	Pouring pacifying myrrh
Льет примирительный елей.[5]	Over the stormy sea.

Nonetheless, Potebnia misquotes the second line: he cites "sredi klokochushchikh **strastei**"—'amidst seething passions.' This substitution substantially changes the whole modality of the poetic picture; in Potebnia's version, the playground for the mystical birth of the poetry becomes the world of human passions rather than elements of primordial chaos. This, apparently inadvertent, alteration is symptomatic for the "secular" mode in which Potebnia views the idea of creation. In his own argument, accompanied by this poetic illustration, Potebnia describes the search for expressing a new thought in terms of problem resolution; until the discrepancy between inner perception and externalized expression is overcome, it causes conflict in the speaker's mind, that needs to be resolved:

> Something yet unclear to the author himself appears to him as a question **x** ..., causing disturbance, brooding, commotion in his thought; **x** repels from **A** [content] everything incompatible and attracts everything fitting to itself. Eventually budding elements of thought selected in this way crystallize into an image **a** [representing content **A**], thus forming a proposition: "**x** is **a**"; this ends the whole development, producing a soothing effect. ... The more persistent the question, the more intensive the brooding from which the thought has been born, the more desirable is the soothing brought by the thought's crystallization. (NTVA, 311)

Compared with the Romantic vision, the perspective in this picture is subtly but significantly altered. The process of creation appears not as free emanation of individual spirit, or of the collective "genius" of the language, but rather as a rational response to a problem. The speaker conquers the problem by finding for it a proposition "**x** is **a**," in which the newly formed meaning **x** receives expression by being linked to an image **a** familiar from a previous experience. The mystery

of the "inner form" undergoes analytical anatomy, turning into an articulate mental act — building a proposition.

Thus, resolution of the inner conflict lies in its externalization. The tension in the would-be creator's soul can be understood as a struggle to make his thought clear for "others":

> The more complicated the message we seek to communicate to others, the more clearly we feel the difference between the two stages in our speech efforts: first, when we are thinking by ourselves, and second, when we try to communicate our thought to others. (NTVA, 305)

This externalization and objectivation of the process of language creativity has far-reaching consequences. The presentation of the newly created meaning as a proposition manifests the inner form of the word, by which this meaning was shaped, and the structure of the sentence. In both cases a new meaning appears as a result of essentially the same intellectual operation: the speaker is confronted with a subject **x** that at this initial stage appears vague, requiring clarification. The resolution of this problem is provided by finding a fitting predicate **a** capable of defining and shaping the meaning of **x** in a satisfactory way. This description equally applies to the relation between the word's meaning and its inner form, on the one hand, and between the grammatical subject and the predicate in the meaning of a sentence, on the other. Indeed, Potebnia describes the relation between the principal components of a sentence in terms identical to those in which he depicts the act of creation of the word's meaning by defining it through inner form. The grammatical subject represents the source of tension, a problem; the speaker must find in the stock of his previous knowledge a predicate which, by being attached to the subject, illuminates it in a desirable way, hereby solving the problem:

> The relation between noun and verb is that of previous knowledge and a new act of cognition. (NRG, 93)[6]
>
> The most fundamental pattern of human thought is the following. There exists something requiring explanation, something relatively unfamiliar and difficult, for which we can use a grammatical term: *the subject*; it receives explanation through something relatively more familiar to us, which can be called the *predicate*. (NTVA, 469–470)

This equation of word and sentence is crucial for understanding the relation between Potebnia's two major works: *Thought and Language* and *From Notes on Russian Grammar*. The philological theory of word and image, on the one hand, and the linguistic theory of structural forms of the sentence and their history, on the other, for all the apparent difference of their subjects, are intimately interconnected in Potebnia's intellectual world; they represent two interdependent and complementary aspects of his thought on language. Potebnia objected to the cleft between studies of verbal semantics and grammatical structures that had rapidly

developed throughout the nineteenth century.[7] According to Potebnia, both must be taken into account in order to answer the crucial problem of creativity in language raised by Romantic philology, and to answer it in a way relevant for contemporary linguistic theory, as well as for the state of languages in modern times.

Potebnia's vision of inner form as a propositional predication allows to recognize not only new words, but new sentences as well, as manifestations of the creative spirit of language. The mystery of the creation of a new meaning can be discerned not only in the "living word" (that is, the one possessing the original vividness of image), but in the tension between grammatical subject and predicate that exists in every newly formed sentence. This means that the creative process in language is not limited to building new "names" for things by capturing their meaning in images—the process which occupies only a limited place in the whole scope of language use in modern culture. The creative spirit of the language is maintained each time a speaker tries to illuminate anew a certain subject by finding a predicate that captures his new, not yet articulated view of that subject. Every sentence produced in speech, even the most pedestrian and "prosaic," consisting entirely of "imageless" words, becomes a playground for creating new meaning.

The recognition of a second principal domain of creativity in language, based on syntactic combinations, vastly increases the scope of what can be perceived as "newly created" in a language. Moreover, this allows the redemption of "imageless" words, turning them from the inertious dead matter into useful tools of creation. Joined in new combinations in a sentence, receiving new predications, such "imageless words" yield ever new, freshly shaped meanings. Their ready-made, easily recognizable shape facilitates their entering into an infinite number of new sentences. The conventional banality of such words only underlines the transfiguration of their meaning that occurs each time a speaker manages to coin a new sentence according to the universal formula: "**x** is **a**."

The two principal ways of creating meaning, by coining a new name and producing a new combination of the already used words, represent two major facets of human activity, which Potebnia calls "poetry" and "prose" in a broad sense:

> Poetry's essence consists of finding different expressions, ... while artistic or scholarly prose, in need of expressing direct observation, relies on a standard vocabulary. (NTVA, 367)

"Prose" predominates in modern times, as did poetry in the prehistorical age. Potebnia's view on different ways of creating in language enables him to accept this change without decrying it as an irretrievable loss.

One of the central ideas of *From Notes on Russian Grammar* is the assertion of the increasingly dominant position taken by the verb in the grammatical system

of Indo-European languages at a later stage of their development. Potebnia points out to such "conquests" made by the verb at the expense of the noun as the development of nominal components of verbal paradigm (participles, infinitive), the increasing specialization of the finite forms of the verb as manifestations of the predicate, and specifically in the history of Russian, the reinterpretation of the formerly nominal participial form in *-лъ* as a member of verbal paradigm (the form of the simple past).[8] This is not merely a formal observation. To understand its cultural-philosophical implications, we must remember that Potebnia emphatically asserts the role of the verb as the "soul of the sentence," without which a sentence cannot be built in a modern language. Thus, the advancement of the verb at the expense of the noun in the process of the historical development of the structural patterns of languge represents the spreading of the new "prosaic" mode of creation, in which "ready-made" signs attain a new meaning by the medium of predication. This development more than compensates for the shrinking of "poetic" inventiveness in nomination.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of the historical inevitability of the development of the "prosaic" mode of creation does not mean a onesided assertion of the superiority of the "new times." Potebnia's historical thought overcomes not only Romantic nostalgia, but the posititivist idea of progress. The "poetic" and "prosaic" modes of creation in language, exemplified by nomination through an image and syntactic articulation in a sentence, represent for Potebnia two major principles of human creative activity in general. They stay, respectively, for mythology and science, prehistorical roots of a nation and its historical development, spontaneous life experience and formal education, oral and written cultural tradition, and last but by no means least, for the worlds of *narod* and *intelligentsia*. Potebnia views historical process in language, and hence in human civilization, as requiring mutual communication and cooperation between the sets of values represented by these two fundamental principles.

Although modern times have been marked by advances of the "prosaic" mode (shown in the incursions made by the verb in the structure of the sentence, as well as by advancements of written forms of speech, formal education, science, etc.), the presence of the "poetic" principle remains crucial for maintaining the creative potential of a nation, its "genius." Potebnia compares a society with no interest and feeling for poetry with a scholar who studies plants only by their schematized descriptions, never looking at the plants themselves. Such an attitude becomes nothing but a new prejudice, what Potebnia calls "the prejudice of science" (*predrassudok nauki*).[9] No matter how ingenious and useful the rationalizing scheme may be, it cannot impart the uniqueness of the living organism.

The same sterilization occurs in a culture when its higher echelons of education and belles-lettres lose their roots in the nation's spontaneously developed ways of life. As examples of epochs in which written culture lost its ties with the spoken language and became fossilized, Potebnia cites the time of the Counter-Reformation in Poland, as well as attempts to preserve artificially the

Church Slavonic tradition (oblivious of poetry) in Muscovite Russia. In both cases, the dominance of a written language, whose functions are confined to the purposes of learning and the activities of the educated classes, becomes detrimental to the wholeness of national culture and its ability for development. Potebnia calls the Polish seventeenth century "an age of macaronic style, Jesuitry, and extreme isolation of the gentry, an age that decided the political extinction of Poland." (NTVA,377–78).

In these statements, the Romantic vision of the organic unity of a national culture in all its layers and manifestations is fused with a populist conviction that maintaining ties with people is the foremost task of the materially and educationally privileged strata of society. If the latter, in the quest for higher esthetic and intellectual values, fails in their obligation towards the former, this rupture of organic wholeness would be detrimental not only to the welfare of the people, but to the state of the values as well.

> The fall or absence of written poetry occurs whenever a single class appropriates the writing culture, forgetting that the chosen ones exist for the social environment from which they had been chosen. .... The alienation of the literary stratum of society, the narrowing of experience, the onesidedness of opinions and the paucity of the means of expression—all these factors are so closely interdependent that given one of them you can be assured that all the others are present as well. (NTVA, 376)

To illustrate the excessive dominance of fossilized Church Slavonic over spontaneous expressions of national spirit, Potebnia offers a curious example from contemporary church life in Ukraine. Newspapers wrote indignantly about the practice in Ukrainian parish schools of making the Holy Scriptures more accessible to students by paraphrasing Church Slavonic texts in the local vernacular; for instance, the word *Евангелiе* had been explained as "то що пiп у церквi читає," the word *дiаволъ*—as "брехунець." For Potebnia, these unaffected and humorous examples of inventiveness in language use represent a crucial connection between the spontaneous and the rational, image and concept, folk tradition and high culture. Disapproval of this practice by the Church testifies to the "onesidedness, insufficiency and weakness of educational principles" based on a strict separation of the sacred text from populist speech habits. Potebnia accompanies his example with a scathing comment:

> The hostility of the Orthodox clergy to local vernaculars testifies to ... their forgetting that Christ had spoken—to use the term by which some of our newspapers call the Ukrainian folk language—in a jargon. (NTVA, 457)

In this statement, the voice of a Romantic philosopher and philologist arguing for the organic unity of all ages and all modes of human expression, mixes with the voice of a modern populist and linguist who appreciates the validity of a

"rough language" and who is aware of the historical and philological critique of the Holy Scriptures.

By bringing the theory of word and image and the theory of the sentence together, Potebnia achieved an all-encompassing synthesis in which poetry and prose, primordial "freshness" of spirit and rational articulatedness of the modern ways of expression, intensity of Romantic philological insights, and the challenges of formal linguistic description supported each other. The uniqueness of his position can be found in the fact that he attained a balance between the Romantic quest for roots and the positivist idea of progress, between the need to maintain the creative "soul" of language and "economy" of expression, for which standard and conventional words are necessary. This made Potebnia's philosophy of language a crucial link between the Romantic tradition and modernist thought on language, between the philology of the Schlegel-Humboldt era and linguistics and poetics of the twentieth century.

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NOTES

1. *Goethe's Werke,* ed. Ludwig Geiger, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1896), 52.

2. See, for instance, further discussion of the notion of inner form (with references to Humboldt as well as to Potebnia) in the works of one of the most prominent of Potebnia's disciples and followers, Dmitrii Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii (D. N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, *Iazyk i iskusstvo* [St. Petersburg, 1895], 22 ff.). Among recent studies of Potebnia's theory of the word, cf. Aleksandr Chudakov, "Teoriia slovesnosti A. A. Potebni," in his book *Slovo—Veshch'—Mir: Ot Pushkina do Tolstogo* (Moscow, 1992), 152–63.

3. Wilhelm Freiherr von Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin, 1836).

4. *Thought and Language* (hereafter TL) and *From Notes on the Theory of Verbal Art* (NTVA) are cited by page number from the edition A. A. Potebnia, *Èstetika i poètika* (Moscow, 1976).

5. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii F. I. Tiutcheva*, ed. P. V. Bykov (St. Petersburg, 1913), 104.

6. *From Notes on Russian Grammar* (NRG) is cited by page number from the edition A. A. Potebnia, *Iz zapisok po russkoi grammatike*, vols. 1–2 (Moscow, 1958).

7. See Potebnia's polemics against opposing etymology to syntax in NRG, 55.

8. "The verb ... having achieved such conquests over the noun as infinitive formation and later, the development of the simple past out of a nominal form in *-lъ* ..." (NRG, 82)

9. *From Lectures on the Theory of Verbal Art*, cited from A. A. Potebnia, *Èstetika i poètika* (Moscow, 1976), 465.

Homer's Arbitration in a Ukrainian Linguistic Controversy: Alexander Potebnja and Peter Niščyns'kyj

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Publications of any translations from foreign languages into Ukrainian were forbidden in the Russian Empire by secret decrees of the St. Petersburg government in 1863 and again in 1876. These laws were enforced until 1905. In the 1880s in defiance of these legislative acts, two Ukrainian intellectuals, Peter Niščyns'kyj in the Odessa region and Alexander Potebnja in Kharkiv, undertook to translate a foreign text, the Odyssey by Homer, into their native language. Niščyns'kyj even managed to have one rhapsody (No. 6) of the poem published in the anthology *Nyva* which had been launched by M. M. Borovs'kyj and D. Markovyč in Odessa in 1885 (pp. 3–12. Cf. Bojko, 76). He also succeeded in smuggling out the whole text of his translation from the Russian Empire to Galicia, then under Austrian rule. Another fragment of his translation (rhapsody 5) was published there in the Lviv monthly *Zorja* in 1886. Subsequently, the entire translation was published, also in Lviv, by the monthly *Pravda* in a separate edition in two parts (1889 and 1892). All these Lviv publications appeared with the pen name Petro Bajda as the translator, a necessary precaution since smuggling out and publishing the text abroad was a criminal action under Russian law.

Potebnja's translation was never completed nor published during his lifetime. Potebnja only translated rhapsodies 7 and 8 and rhapsody 3 in part (verses 1–275). These fragments survived in manuscript until the revocation of the ban on Ukrainian translations in the Russian Empire in 1905. Potebnja's translation fragments were then made available to readers as an appendix to his *Iz zapisok po teorii slovesnosti* (Kharkiv 1905), pp. 538–583, in combination with a large body of scholarly articles written in Russian. A Ukrainian reader hardly would expect to find a Homeric text in this context. Due to the peculiarities of this publication, Potebnja's work remained little known to Ukrainians, even to specialists in the history of Ukrainian literature and literary language. The exact date of Potebnja's work on his translation has not been established. According to witnesses (Budilovič, 1892, 88; Rusov, 1905, 538; cf. Shevelov, 1992, 57) Potebnja's work on his translation took place "not long before his death" (i.e., 11 December, 1891).

The existence of two translations of the same text from about the same time — when there were virtually no translations into Ukrainian in the Russian-governed part of Ukraine —is striking in itself, scarcely accidental, and raises the question of a possible connection between them. In terms of time, apparently, Niščyns'kyj was the predecessor. As shown above, Niščyns'kyj's first publication of his text falls in the year 1885. Niščyns'kyj (1832–1896) had lived some

time in Greece and even graduated from the university of Athens in 1856 (Pyvovarov, 1963, 32). In all likelihood, his work on translations from the ancient Greek and in particular the Odyssey lasted many years. Whether Potebnja knew him personally is unknown. Potebnja's access to Lviv publications, including (at the earliest) in 1886, is at best uncertain: importation of *Zorja* into the Russian Empire for private person was illegal or non-existent. As I have been informed orally and then in his letter to me dated September 30, 1993 by Mr. M. M. Krasikov from Kharkiv, Potebnja's personal library after his death went to the Central Scientific Library in Kharkiv but was dispersed; now an attempt is under way to reassemble it as it was during his lifetime, but it is hard to say today how complete this restoration would be and, in particular, to say if his private library contained *Nyva* and, specifically, the issues of *Zorja* with Niščyns'kyj's translation. Mr. Krasikov (to whom I am very grateful for this information) reassured me that the University Library did contain both *Nyva* and *Zorja*. However, in his letter of June 22, 1994, he withdrew his information as concerns the presence of *Zorja* in the libraries of Kharkiv in the 1890s. With certainty it can be assumed as a fully acceptable hypothesis — that Potebnja should have known the *Nyva* anthology. As stated, it was published in Odessa, Ukraine. Ukrainian publications within the Russian Empire were then extremely rare, and Potebnja was interested in them.

Under the abnormal conditions that prevailed in Ukrainian literature in the Russian Empire, it is a well-established and easily understood fact that the lack of continuity should have left its imprint on literary developments. Many efforts were made by authors without receiving any visible response, many responses were silenced or belated. Often results were separated in time from their stimuli, and many developments were suppressed or fragmented. In the case of our Odyssey translations, however, whatever the impediments to their publication, the connection of the two links—Niščyns'kyj and Potebnja—seems indisputable. The work of Potebnja beyond any doubt must have been a reply to Niščyns'kyj's work. The existence of the two translations no doubt was not a matter of chance. The question to be answered, in fact, was not whether Potebnja's work was a reaction to that of Niščyns'kyj, but rather what was the message contained in Potebnja's "reply." Did it supplement Niščyns'kyj's work or polemicize with it by proposing another approach and, by the same token, promoting a different program, different in part or fully? The first alternative — that of a continuation — is not very likely. It would work only on the assumption that Potebnja became acquainted with parts of Niščyns'kyj's translation as published in *Nyva* and perhaps in *Zorja* and decided to continue the work which had been done. To be sure, one may argue in favor of this alternative by referring to the fact that Potebnja chose for his work those parts of the Odyssey which were different from those selected by Niščyns'kyj for his earliest publications. A polemical approach would be better served by selecting the same parts, that is rhapsodies 5 and 6, and not 7 and 8.

In spite of the apparent persuasiveness of such an argument, the presumption of Potebnja as continuator of Niščyns´kyj is hardly tenable. Potebnja's contacts with the leading Ukrainian cultural circles were restrained and reticent, but they did exist (see Shevelov in Potebnja 1992, 30) Specifically, after the first publication in *Nyva* it is indeed hard to imagine that Potebnja could have remained uninformed of Niščyns´kyj's plans to translate the whole of Homer's poem. As for the choice of the rhapsodies other than those by Niščyns´kyj, it should be remembered that Potebnja had had a bitter experience with direct polemics (with P. Lavrovskij, 1864. See Shevelov in Potebnja, 1992, 27) and throughout his late years consistently gave preference only to extremely cautious and oblique polemics.

In sum, the hypothesis of a polemical intention in Potebnja's translation is, in theory, much more convincing than that of a continuation and completion of Niščyns´kyj's work. Such polemics could not proceed on a theoretical level: Potebnja had no forum for a discussion of theoretical problems concerning translation of foreign poetical works into Ukrainian in any legal (i.e. Russian) publications and he would never try to smuggle such reviews into Galician publications (not to mention the fact that the L´viv periodicals of the time were not up to such a discussion by their very intellectual level). The only way to polemicize with these matters was by way of a "counter-translation." Whether this was indeed what Potebnja intended by his own translation and what the issues were in his polemics is the subject of the following considerations in this article. What was at the stake in this controversy—as will be shown—was not so much how Homer was to be translated but what was to be the pattern of the standard Ukrainian language.

The possibility of the presence of the polemical attitude in Potebnja's translation does not of course preclude other motivations for his work. He could be interested in demonstrating, for his own sake, the possibilities and the limits of the Ukrainian language for the adaptation of non-Ukrainian folkloric works; he could have needed working in Ukrainian to aid the recollection, in a Russianizing Kharkiv, of the language of his childhood (see his autobiography in Potebnja 1992, 49); and much more. But all such possibilities, whether they are altogether reconstructible or not, must remain outside of the scope of this essay which will concentrate only on one topic: did his translation have a polemical intent with regard to the shaping of the standard Ukrainian language and, if so, what was the actual gist of Potebnja's Ukrainian language program?

The first and foremost thing to be done in this context is to take stock of the essential differences between the principles of the two translations and then to see what generalizations such an inventory of devices would allow us to draw provided, of course, that this material would offer some insight into how the two translators envisaged the prospects of the standard Ukrainian language in its present state and in its further development. This, needless to say, will possibly allow us a better understanding of Potebnja's general views on how literary languages are to develop and function.

Probably the first thing to be noticed and the most striking for the late nineteenth century reader in the translations of Homer was the treatment of Greek proper names. To an average reader not specialized in Greek studies they were familiar in their traditional Russian form (e.g., in the translations of Žukovskij), and it is in this form that they are usually found in Niščyns'kyj's text. But not in Potebnja, who as a rule restores, more or less consistently, the Old Greek form while eliminating morphologically superfluous components. For example, the masculine ending -ος in Potebnja is dropped (here and further on, the letter P refers to Potebnja, N to Niščyns'kyj): P *Helij* - N *Helios* (3, 1–2); P *Pyl* - N *Pylos* (3, 4); P *na Lesbi* - N *v Lesbosi* (3, 168); P *Xija* - N *Xiosa* (3, 169), etc. Diphthongs are not monophthongized in Potebnja: *Posejdaon* - N *Posidon* (3, 55), P *Heroist* - N *Herest* (3, 275); η is rendered in Potebnja with *e*, in Niščyns'kyj, with *i* and, respectively, θ with *t* and with *f* (though occasionally spelt with Russian θ): P *Atena*, *Trazymed* - N *Afyna*, *Frazimed* (3, 13; 3, 38). What in Niščyns'kyj traditionally is *Muza*, *Zeves* in Potebnja became *Musa*, *Zevs* (8, 63; 3, 160; but inconsistently *z* in *Trazymed* above). Greek Τηλέμαχος Potebnja renders, as is to be expected, *Telemax* (e.g., 3, 14). Inconsistently, Niščyns'kyj has here *e* in the first syllable. But this is not his personal inconsistency: again he accepts it from the Russian practice (possibly patterned here on French). Whatever and how many inconsistencies there are (more on them in Shevelov, 1992, 60), the main attitude in Niščyns'kyj is to base his translation on Russian customs and habits (not even on modern Greek, although he lived some time in Athens), Potebnja (who did not) departs from them.

Speaking of onomastic problems, that of patronymics also is to be touched upon. Niščyns'kyj consistently applies here the suffix *-enk(o)*: *do Atrijenka* (3, 155); *Tydijenko* (3, 166), *na Laertenka* (8, 17), *Kronijenka* (8, 289), *Zevsenko* (8, 334), making no distinction between reference to the father (in which case the Greek text typically uses the word υἱός, "son") and to the kin (*Sippenzugehörigkeit* —Schwyzer 1953, 509; in Greek typically formations with the suffix -ις-). In Potebnja we find resp. *Atrejevyču*, *Tydejiv...syn*, *syna rozvažnoho bat'ka Laerta*, *Kronovyča*, *syn Dyjiv*, i.e., partly the suffix *-ovyč*, partly the genitive of substantives or possessive adjectives. As in the case of Greek proper names Potebnja is closer to the Greek original and more archaic in his choice of suffix: the suffix *-ovyč* is attested from the oldest extant Ukrainian texts (in princely names) on, while the suffix *-enk(o)* is a typical "Cossack suffix" coming into being (and into fashion) only since the sixteenth - seventeenth centuries (Cf. Simovyč, 1981, 168). Again, as in his rendition of Greek proper names, Potebnja goes to the roots of the nation, while Niščyns'kyj adapts the Homeric text to modern usage be it Russian (in the case of proper names) or Middle or Modern Ukrainian (in the case of patronymics).

To establish whether these preliminary observations apply to the two translations as a whole, it is necessary to look at the general linguistic and linguo-stylistic make-up of the two. A few features of them are selected here for a brief examination, with no intention of presenting an exhaustive analysis. The order

of presentation roughly corresponds to that in Shevelov 1992, 60ff, to make the comparison of the two translations easier.

1. Heterogenic (non-Ukrainian) lexical components (except Greek proper names) do not play any important stylistic part in either translation. Three groups of such components may come into consideration, Russianisms, Church-Slavonicisms, and Polonisms. Russianisms, including stylistically neuter Russian Church-Slavonicisms and Westernisms (Europeanisms) borrowed via Russian, are few in Potebnja (listed in Shevelov 1992, 61) and somewhat more numerous in Niščyns´kyj: *vselyla* (vidvahu) (3. 75), *poxodyš* 'resemble' (3, 124), *izminjat´sja* 'change' (3, 147), *proče* (3, 153), *zistat´sja* (3, 154), *u odkrytu ljubyla* (3, 221), *po sij pryčyni* (3, 245), *nadežnyj* (3, 266), *besplodnym* (7, 79), (dev'at´) *sutok* (7, 253), *že* (adversative) (8, 47), *dovolen* (8, 197), *lučše streljaje* (8, 220), *zapadnju* (8, 276, 282), *rjadkom* (8, 337), *uvyl´ne* (8, 353), *rynuvs´* (8, 517), *korabel´ščykiv* (8, 559); *strannykiv* (3, 34; 7, 160), *xrabrišyx* (3, 108; 3, 187), *v soviti* (3, 127), *čužostranciv* (7, 192; 8, 12), *vladijut´* (7, 149; 7, 209), *pryterpity* (7, 270, with *pry-* substituting for *pre-*), *hubytel´* (8, 3), *vozvorot* (8,157), *v vozdusi* (8, 376), *vdoxnovennyj* (8, 497); syntactic Russianisms: *stolycju trojanciv* (3, 85), *sami najlučči* (8, 78). In summary, Niščyns´kyj resists Russianisms less than Potebnja, but not to the extent of macaronicism. Some of them probably function as a means of creating a lofty style by selecting special vocabulary, which is typical of the structure of the Russian standard language (being a "bilingual" language—cf. Shevelov 1966, 5) and thus witness the deeper impact of Russian in Niščyns´kyj than in Potebnja, but such cases are but few.

Not surprising, since he himself originated in the Vinnycja area, Niščyns´kyj also admits some Polonisms: *poxodni* 'torch' (7, 101; 7, 339), *xočaj*, a blend of Ukrainian *xoč* and Polish *chociaj* (7, 204; 8, 547), *nihdy* (7, 247), *pokoëvka* (7, 335), a vocabulary component entirely alien to Potebnja (first of all, for geographical reasons).

Altogether Niščyns´kyj is less discriminating in relation to Slavic foreignisms than Potebnja.

2. In coining neologisms, Niščyns´kyj was about as restrained as Potebnja, or even more so. In their practice both showed what seems to be a reluctance to make new words of their own, personal formation. They kept away from the then fashionable "school" of Myxajlo Staryc´kyj and his followers, who were called "word smiths" by their opponents. Of such words in Niščyns´kyj one finds *plavnyk* 'vessel' (7, 264; 7, 274f; P: *porom*); *lunastyj* 'resounding' (7, 345. In Potebnja a Russianism *hulkyj*), *sperеč* 'defiance' (8, 210). *Potrusytel´* (7, 35; 7, 56) is an *ad hoc* creation to render ἐνοσίχθων in a pseudo-Church-Slavonic style (P: *zemli potrjasatel´*). *V krok* 'at once,' literally 'in step' (8, 376) is rather a dialectal semantic shift; *stamvidtam* 'from there' (7, 86) is a neologism only in spelling; *sobačišoho* (7, 216) may be considered as a semantic shift inasmuch as a relative adjective *sobačyj* is treated as a qualitative and not relative one, as

witnessed by the derivation of a comparative. Finally, one finds *trojastyj* 'triple' (8, 506). In sum total, a negligible amount of neologisms, hardly exceeding what one finds in Potebnja (see Shevelov, 1992, 61f).

A reluctance to individual (personal) word formation is also found in the use of compound words including compound adjectives which so strikingly mark the original Greek text. Greek γαιή-οχυς is rendered by the word group *deržavče zemli* (3, 55). The double epithet of Odysseus, both compound, Ὀδυσῆα...δα{θρονα, ποικιλομήτην is rendered by *"za Odyssejem, carem mudrym vel´my y na vyhadky xytrym"* (3, 163) with no compound at all. (Cf. P: *"Odyssejem rozvažnym, na vyhadky xytrym"*). To the Greek "Αργεος ἱπποβότοι corresponds *"u kin´my bahatim Arhosi"* (3, 262. P: *"koneplodnoho Arha"*!).

Once he admitted the compound adjective *bohorivnyj*, Niščyns´kyj uses it here and there, applying it to various characters, and replacing a variety of epithets in the original text. Some original Homeric compound adjectives are translated as such as well but imprecisely, in fact, as they occur in Ukrainian folklore: Athena instead of being γλαυκῶπις becomes *syn´ooka* (e.g., 3, 25 and passim). In one case one finds in Niščyns´kyj a compound adjective where the original text has none; but this happens to be the adjective *bilolycyj* (*misjac´*) (7, 85), widely used in Ukrainian folklore!

All in all, the few cases of the adequate translation, compound for compound, of Greek compounds are *sribnolukyj* (7, 64) and *vesloljubyvyj* (8, 535) plus in some instances *bohorivnyj*. Clearly, Niščyns´kyj had no conscious intention to introduce into Ukrainian Homer's compound nouns and, in particular, compound adjectives. In that he differed drastically from Potebnja with his 22 Ukrainian compound adjectives vs. Greek 24 (Shevelov 1992, 62)

3. An insight into the policy of the two translators as to the use of the archaic vocabulary reveals an interesting pattern. Both of them more often than not try to avoid archaisms. But within the framework of this general approach their attitudes differ significantly. In most cases Niščyns´kyj either selects a neutral word, current in rural speech and unmarked stylistically (a), or , rarely, a word used in rural speech marked for ritual use (b), or a word associated with the historical past of Middle Ukrainian ("Cossack" usage) (c).

	Niščyns´kyj	*Potebnja*
(a)	lavky (3, 7)	syži (cf. Shevelov 1992, 62)
	čoven (3, 7)	korabel´
	benket (3, 33)	pyr
	obid vel´my znatnyj (3, 66)	prepyšnyj pyr
	pevnoji zvistky (3, 83)	dal´noji slavy

Occasionally the same principle seems to loom in the choice of morphological or phonetic variant or of a syntactic construction:

	vysluxaj (3, 55)	uslyš
	tohdi (7, 289)	todi
	obijmaju kolina (3, 92)	k kolinam prypadaju
(b)	otec´ (3, 16)	bat´ko
	pan-otec´, pane otče (3, 196; 3, 208; 7, 316)	mužu, bat´ku
	trapezu (3, 44)	učti
(c)	kylix (sic! 3, 50)	čara
	hromadjany (3, 32)	tovarystvo
	lycar (3, 209)	komonnyk
	džura (7, 101)	xlopci

The otherness of Potebnja's position is obvious in these juxtapositions. He avoids any "peasantness" (populism); he archaicizes consistently, though moderately and inconspicuously. He rejects any ties with a particular historical period, especially Middle Ukrainian with its markedness by association with Cossacks' customs and social structures. Ideologically speaking, he does not accept Niščyns´kyj's populism and cossackophilism. Rather, he promotes the Ukrainian language as the language of the educated, and Ukrainian history as an uninterrupted evolution from the time of the medieval Kievan Rus´ to our days. His standard language program here is that of elaborateness, evenness and consistency, alien to any contrasts and contradictions, to any baroque excesses.

The eclectic and, now and then, internally contradictory make-up of Niščyns´kyj's translation comes to the fore among other things, in blatant stylistic anachronisms resulting, in the long run, in elements of travesty in the etymological sense of the term, such as characterized Kotljarevs´kyj's remake of the *Aeneid*, with its disguise of the Trojans as Ukrainian Cossacks. The somewhat comic effect is certainly produced not by any intention of Niščyns´kyj, but rather as an involuntary slip into *Kotljarevščyna*, a tradition well ingrained in Ukrainian literature though, of course, anachronistic itself in the 1880s.

True, the characters of Niščyns´kyj's translation are not called Ukrainian Cossacks but they wear *župany* (8, 84, also 8, 186; Gr. φάρος), the females wear *sukni* (8, 366), they sleep in a *van´kir* (8, 277; actually 'balcony, oriel'), they go *poparytys´ v lazni* (8, 249), they travel in *bryčka* 'britska' (7, 4), they listen to a *kobzar* (8, 43 and 62, 65, 254, 481) who plays *kobza* (φόρμιγξ - 8, 39, 255) while singing of *lycars´ka slava* 'Cossacks' glory' (8, 73; cf. 8, 495), all of this displacing, historically and geographically, ancient Greece into the modern or recent Ukraine and, accordingly, displacing the style from a heroic epos to a narrative about slices of modern life. It is against this background that purely stylistic (not just ethnographic) shifts into modern speech become possible, like *braviji xlopci* (7, 328; cf. also 3, 104; 3, 111) and even into a variety of modern

scholarly presentation ("stvoryš otsju relihijnu vynovu ofiru"—3, 45), also permitting individual terms picked up from the Greek text to go virtually untranslated (*demon* "god" 3, 27, etc.). None of these features are found in Potebnja's translation.

4. An abundance of diminutives typical of nineteenth century early romantic Ukrainian poetry and of Ševčenko's imitators (not so much of Ševčenko himself), is not a feature of Potebnja's translation from Homer. Niščyns'kyj uses diminutives sparingly but clearly does not shun them as a matter of principle. His position is that of a compromise; or, to put it differently, he is eclectic and inconsistent. To such forms in Niščyns'kyj as *milen'kyj pisočok* (3, 38), *holubčyk mij* (3, 111), *sonečko* (3, 138), *čolovičok* (3, 226), *moloden'koji* (7, 20), *tutky* (7, 23) a.o. there are no diminutive counterparts in Potebnja. Cf. in Niščyns'kyj, "Ta na milen'kim pisočku" (3, 37) where Potebnja offers: "Na smuxax m'jakyx, na piskax, na berezi morja."

5. Even though the explosion of the first-person narrative style in both Ukrainian and Russian prose and partly in epic verse (Ukr. *opovid'* as opposed to *rozpovid'*, Russian *skaz* as opposed to *rasskaz*) took place in the early 1830s (Gogol 1831, Dal' 1832, Kvitka-Osnov'janenko 1833), Niščyns'kyj's translation originating half a century later still reveals some linguistic features of then old-fashioned *opovid'* manner. True, there was some continuity in this genre/style in Ukrainian literature for several decades (Marko Vovčok, Storoženko a.o.) so that there was no chronological gap in this respect between say, Kvitka and Niščyns'kyj.

To be sure, some devices of Kvitka's and his followers' narrative style and of the *opovid'* in general, such as self-interruptions, references to persons and places allegedly familiar to the "listener," the building of the image of the narrator through the features of his narration, etc. were off-limits in the very genre of the Od*yssey*, a coherent tale of events in a far away country and, in addition, a work subject to translation. Not only the requirements of the Homeric style but also the principle of equilinearity precluded the insertion of the pleonastic devices required by the *opovid'* as a genre. Gogol could make his imaginary *Rudyj Pan'ko* speak in self-repetitions, self-interruptions, exclamations, invocations of imaginary listeners, etc., as in this final passage of Pan'ko's "preface" to *Večera na xutore bliz Dikan'ki*: "Bože ty moj, kakix na svete net kušan'ev! Staneš' est'—ob'jadenie, da i polno. Sladost' neopisannaja! Prošlogo goda... Odnako ž čto ja v samom dele razboltalsja?.. Priezžajte tol'ko, priezžajte poskorej; a nakormim tak, čto budete rasskazyvat' i vstrečnomu i poperečnomu." All these devices are beyond the possibilities of a translator of Homer. No Rudyj Pan'ko could have been constructed in the Ukrainian Odyssey!

What the translator, in our case Niščyns'kyj, had at his disposal and—surprisingly—what he actually did use in his syntax was the following:

a) an accumulation of particles with emphatic or demonstrative-emphatic character, which are more characteristic of oral than written speech, e.g.: "jak

vony vdvox *ta* polajalys'" (8, 76); "Zaraz *oto* feakijcjam svojim *i* počav hovoryty" (8, 96); "kolys' *to* z Epyru pryvezly na čovni *ta j* prysudyly" (7, 10); with a nuance of an (underdeveloped) indefinite article: "snujete po svitu, jak rozbyšaky *oti*" (3, 73);

b) doubled conjunctions: "čovna vony zatjahnuly...*ta i* pišly" (8, 56);

c) "false" conjunctions with an emphatic function: "molodyj *ta* rozmovoju buv tak na joho poxožyj" (3, 125);

d) doubled pronouns: "*jakyj takyj* sposib dlja toho prydumav" (3, 243); "i po *sij samij* pryčyni" (3, 245);

e) "parasitic" pronouns: "rozvažaly my, de b *joho* jixat'" (3, 168);

f) shifts in the class of pronouns: "...pozyrajut'...mov na boha *jakoho*" (7, 76);

g) excessive modal words, most often with the function of calling "listener's" attention: "nixto, *bač,* zapevne skaraty ne može" (3, 89); "z riznymy *het'* vykrutasamy" (8, 379);

h) particles and pronouns used as particles may be accumulated in a sentence, e.g.: "Dumky bezsmertnyx ne duže *to* zaraz *pak tak* izminjat'sja" (3, 147);

i) There are instances in which modal meaning (how the speaker evaluates a fact or a person) is conveyed by, formally speaking, an apposition: *katuzi* (3, 197), *neborak* (7, 1), *bidolaxa* (7, 133; 7, 344); cf. "Ares *džygunec'* zlotovuzdnyj" (8, 285).

In sum, the inventory of the syntactic devices which emphasize the would-be narrative (*opovidnyj*) character of the text is rather limited, but they reemerge time and again, frequently enough to lend a general speaker-to-listener(s) narrative character to the text. Of course, many of these devices also function as fillers in the metric scheme of the verse. But these two functions are fully compatible.

In addition, the effect of the syntactic devices in Niščyns'kyj's translation is enhanced by some peculiarities of lexical make-up of the text. Like the majority of the syntactic devices listed here the lexical ones time and again have a vernacular character and a vernacularizing effect. The following facts may be noticed in this context:

a) Affective, more often than not, substandard words and phraseologisms: *za pojas zatkne* (3, 121; 8, 126); *nabuxkat'* (7, 221); *obkarnaje* (8, 221); *toroxnuly* (8, 218); *mov vody v rot nabrala* (8, 234); *zvernuvsja z hluzdu* (8, 240); *xytru štuku sporudyv* (8, 281); *zo smixu až pokotylys'* (8, 326). Some such items lead directly to Kotljarevs'kyj with his choice of substandard expressions: *daty xl'oru* "to flog, to whip" (3, 132); *hotuvav...xalaziju,* same (3, 156); *xalepa* "trouble, misfortune" (3, 165; 3, 274; 7, 213; 8, 231). For all three items see Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* resp. 3, 73; 1, 41; 5, 116.

b) Use of affective verbs instead of, and in the basic function of, auxiliary and affect-free verbs: *udaryvs' tikaty* (= *stav.* 3, 164); *vdarjajus' do tebe* (= *zvertajus'*. 7, 147. Also "do neji najperše i vdaryvs'" - 7, 301; "v Frakiju vdaryvs'"

(=*pojixav*, 8, 631)). In the meaning "to drink" *smyknuty* ("po kylišku smyknuly"—7, 228. Cf. *davaj...spus´katy* (*sic*! 3, 152)).

c) Pleonastic accumulation of verbs: "stav kryčat´ i nakazuvat´" (3, 141).

The two phenomena examined here, notably, syntax oriented at informal oral speech and vocabulary with features of the vernacular, occasionally even absorbing some features of jargon (in the case of Niščyns´kyj most likely that of seminarians) do not have to go hand in hand. They are mutually independent. But in Niščyns´kyj they contribute, in their mutual impact, to a common effect, that of a low level language not aimed at keeping the translation's distance from an undercultivated vernacular. Potebnja's experiment strove for the exact opposite: to check whether standard Ukrainian was capable of being different, of standing away from any "vulgarity," of being "ennobled," remote from everyday underdifferentiation. That is why Potebnja refused to accept Niščyns´kyj's standard and perhaps why he undertook his "countertranslation." In this he relied not only on what he heard, but worked out of his data collected from numerous contemporary and historical sources. It was the work of a scholar, not a teacher, of a reformer, not an opportunist.

Two principal requirements were central in Potebnja's Ukrainian-language program: vocabulary should exclude extremes of strikingly low and strikingly high components (i.e., a denial of Baroque traditions), and syntax should use archaic folkloric structures as a means of elevating language levels. Compared to Potebnja, Niščyns´kyj was too shy to discriminate in vocabulary and to revivify some features of archaic folklore in syntax, even when he found support in the language of Homer's Odyssey.

Some contrasts in the vocabulary of the two translations were shown above. It would not be out of place to say a few words about syntactic constructions from archaic folklore in Potebnja and their counterparts in Niščyns´kyj (P vs. N). A few comparisons will suffice.

P: "Dal´n´oji slavy pro bat´ka čy de ne začuju Pro Odyseja duši terpelyvoji" (3, 83–84). Here *Odysej* and *duša* function as "isometric," mutually independent nouns denoting identical notions—not a compulsory but a likely analysis. In N the ambiguity is totally eliminated by the grammatical dependence (agreement): "Počuju pro Odysseja, neščasnoho moho otcja;"

In the same way, in 3, 188 P has "Axylleja—velykoho sercja syn jim dovodyv," which N translates: "Viv jix dodomu Axylleščenko, budučyj lycar´;"

In P "Skoro z'javylasja rannja zorja, roževyji pal´ci" (8, 1), in N, with the metaphor of *pal´ci* eliminated in order to have a regular (one might say, pedestrian) agreement of the adjective with the substantive: "Til´ky lyš rannja roževa zorja zanjalasja;"

In P "Arej vižky zolotyji" (8, 285), in N, with the same remodelling as above, to a regular grammatical agreement of an adjective (this time compound): "Ares džygunec´ zlotovuzdnyj;"

In P "do syntijiv, ljudu dykoji movy" (8, 294. The more correct punctuation probably would be: "Do syntijiv ljudu, dykoji movy"). In N: "do tyx syntijiv dykoholosyx."

What is achieved by Potebnja in all such cases (from the modern point of view but also probably from the most ancient one) is that where there is one notion with an attribute (or attributes), it is split into two notions whose mutual relations are to be established by the reader (i.e. open), *Arej* with/possessing *vižky* becoming *Arej* + *vižky*, *zorja* having/with *pal´ci* becoming *zorja* + *pal´ci*, etc. Potebnja preserves the principle of unity in separateness, while Niščyns´kyj destroys it.

The only cases in which both translators seem to preserve the Homeric principle are constructions with *syla* "strength," cf. in Potebnja "Alkynoja velykaja syla seje začula," in Niščyns´kyj "Svjata Alkynojova syla...vzjala Odysseja za ruku" (7, 167; also 8, 2 and 8, 385). Although genetically this case is not to be separated from the preceding ones, it is a special case. The Greek μένος, literally, "power, strength" in combination with personal names, perhaps through the meaning "soul" has been reduced to the meaning "in person," "himself." Considered a curious Hellenism, the word is usually rendered literally as "*syla*" in translations of Homer into various languages, e.g., in the Russian translation by Žukovskij a.o. Therefore its preservation in Niščyns´kyj is a matter of routine, not a personal retreat from his principles.

Instances of Niščyns´kyj introducing paratactic constructions, whether following the original or on his own, are exceptions, e.g., "ležaty v zemli ta v mohyli" —3, 257; there is no counterpart in Potebnja nor in the original. It is the simplest possible paratactic construction with a conjunction *ta* inserted (possibly for metric and not syntactic reasons).

To complete this examination of some typical syntactic samples from the two translations let us take up verses 8, 570f:

N: Tak hovoryv staryj bat´ko, i, može, to boh koly j zrobyt´,
Može j ne zrobyt´: od vlasnoji voli joho to zaležyt´.

P: Staryj tak kazav. Čy bude vse od Boha izrobleno,
Čy bez pokonannja perejde, - jak sercju joho bude mylo!

Niščyns´kyj's rather confused vernacular contrasts with Potebnja's well organized and moderately but consistently archaicized translation—in syntax (impersonal construction with a *-no-* form), in vocabulary (*pokonannja*), even in phonetics (the prefix *iz-*). In epitomy, here one finds the linguistic "passports" of the two texts and, by the same token, a general *raison d'être* of Potebnja's translation, as if to say: this is how the translation should have been done, this

is how the structure of the Ukrainian poetic/standard language should be shaped in the future.

Niščyns'kyj worked mainly on the basis of the experience of his own and his generation's life filtered to some extent by literature, from Kotljarevs'kyj to the populists. In contrast, Potebnja worked on the basis of the historical memory of the nation. To the generation of writers who were to make their debut in the 1890s, the experiment of Potebnja remained unknown, and the work of Niščyns'kyj mostly unnoticed. If the generation of M. Kocjubyns'kyj, Lesja Ukrajinka, Mykola Voronyj (*"dev'jatdesjatnyky"*) had to choose between Niščyns'kyj and Potebnja, it would have given preference to Potebnja. But more likely they would not have accepted either one, as shown by the fact that similar ideas to Potebnja's of making archaic folklore the foundation of the literary standard were rejected in the 1920s when the would-be continuators of Potebnja in the "Kievan school" of linguistics (Tymčenko, Smerečyns'kyj a.o.) attempted to promulgate them (see: Shevelov 1962, 51ff.). To the generation of the 1890s the linguistic program of Niščyns'kyj, eclectic as it was, with elements of *Kotljarevščyna*, was, of course, entirely out of date, to some extent even ludicrous, but the "even" program of Potebnja with its high esteem for the tradition of folklore also was a program of yesteryear.

In terms of a language program the men of the nineties were interested least of all in cherishing any folkloric tradition. Their ideal was rather a "Europeanization" (as they would call it) of the literature and the language. What was behind this slogan, in relation to the standard language, were rather doubts as to whether the standard language should remain, in its foundations, a "one-language" or a "two-language" structure (cf. Shevelov 1966, 5), a "one-layer" or "several-layer" language. Practically, most often this meant absorption of Church Slavonicisms (as a rule, Russian Church Slavonicisms) which was not a problem at all for Potebnja. In the views of the generation of the 1890s, the Ukrainian standard language as viewed by Potebnja was primarily a belated product of the sixties, the decade which saw the shaping of Ukrainian populism. And so it actually was.

In the dramatic circumstances under which Ukrainian literature eked out its existence in the Russian Empire, such belated developments were a normal phenomenon. To be properly understood, the controversy between Potebnja and Niščyns'kyj should be transferred to the 1860s. The irony of fate was that even then the translations would have remained unpublished (in the case of Potebnja) or unadmitted in the main part of Ukraine (in the case of Niščyns'kyj). In no way did the controversy of the two translators of Homer determine the actual development of the Ukrainian standard language.

For our studies of Potebnja, his controversy with Niščyns'kyj demonstrates once more—and eloquently—how much his worldview in quite a number of problems was shaped by the great epoch of the 1860s.

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Potebnja's Conception of East Slavic Morphosyntax Viewed in Its Historical Context

HENRIK BIRNBAUM

While Oleksandr Opanasovyč Potebnja's pioneering contribution to literary theory, folklore, and linguistics is today generally recognized as just that—trailblazing, in other words—he was relatively little known in his own lifetime when he worked at Kharkiv University. Even where his ideas and claims now must be considered dated and superseded by other, more modern concepts and insights, the Ukrainian scholar's innovative, original approach to the various manifestations of language—in its synchronic and, in particular, diachronic dimension, its written and oral form, its ordinary and aesthetic function—was truly remarkable and has secured him a lasting place in the history of Russian and Ukrainian aesthetics, theory of oral tradition, and, above all, linguistics.[1]

Here, only Potebnja's lasting significance for the study of Russian—and more generally, East Slavic—morphosyntax (or grammar, in the narrow sense) will be briefly discussed.[2] Elsewhere, I have had an opportunity to comment on the beneficial effect of Potebnja's thought concerning Slavic syntax on V. Jagić (for whom this was not a central area of scholarly concern, however).[3] As I indicated in my previous discussion, Potebnja's approach to syntax helped Jagić in particular to free himself from the towering, indeed oppressive, influence in matters of Slavic syntax of his teacher, the distinguished pre-neogrammarian Slavist F. Miklosich (Miklošič), his predecessor in the Chair of Slavic Philology at Vienna University.

When speaking of Potebnja's approach to Russian morphosyntax, the notion "Russian," taken as a historical category, must be understood as embracing all of East Slavic or, for the early period, Old Russian in the traditional sense, a concept now frequently and more accurately (though perhaps stylistically not all too felicitously) replaced by "Rusian," as referring to the vernacular language of Old Rus'. One of Potebnja's great achievements amounts precisely to elucidating the evolution from "Rusian" to the Russian of his own times, while to a large extent taking into account also the resulting forms and structures of Ukrainian and Belorussian and adducing ample parallels from other Slavic languages as well as Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian)—conforming or contrasting with the Slavic evidence. Another major accomplishment of the Ukrainian scholar can thus be seen in his broadly comparative—Indo-European, Balto-Slavic, and generally Slavic—point of departure, interpreted in both historical (diachronic) and, perhaps even more significantly, typological terms, with the latter frequently touching on, if not outright amounting to, what would now be referred to as linguistic universals or universal grammar.

In literary theory and the field of folklore, Potebnja's work spans a gap, bridging an attitude inspired by—mostly German—aesthetic Romanticism and philosophical idealism on the one hand, and, on the other, the chronologically subsequent trend, marking the inquiry into the evolution of verbal art and oral tradition influenced particularly by the tenets of Darwinism. In fact, his relevant work goes beyond the second "bridgehead" in that it also served as a source of inspiration (and controversy) for the next generation of scholars. In Russia, that meant primarily the Formalists, from V. Šklovskij (cf. the latter's famous yet substantially qualified opening line of his essay "Art as Device," borrowed from Potebnja: "Art is thinking in images") to V. Propp and his *Morphology of the Fairytale* (this genre revealing a recurrent basic narrative structure). Likewise, Potebnja's linguistic thought was far more than merely a "filler" between pre-neogrammarian, Schleicher- and Bopp-type comparative grammar and the "scientific" approach to language evolution—and notably to phonological change *(Lautwandel)*—advocated by the neogrammarians of the Leipzig School.

As a linguist, Potebnja was initially primarily influenced by W. v. Humboldt and H. Steinthal. Later, he increasingly worked out his own methodology and applied it to historical-comparative and typological linguistics. Thus, his own approach can be seen in the context of the general philosophical and intellectual climate of contemporary Russia—in more than one area emulating and adapting Western patterns, at that time primarily from Germany—and of his chosen field of study, Russian and Slavic philology.

Of the two German linguists mentioned, it was in particular Humboldt and, more than anything else, his famous work on Kavi[4] that had a decisive impact on Potebnja's historical-typological thinking in matters linguistic and socio-linguistic. The full title of Humboldt's three-volume work alone conjures up the idea of language typology and of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis concerning the perception of reality, or the "world," through the prism of an *a priori* given linguistic structure. If we add to this the fact—not immediately clear from the title of Humboldt's work—that Kavi was the early recorded stage of Javanese (attested from the tenth to thirteenth centuries), the historical-comparative dimension and significance of the work becomes apparent as well. Thus, Javanese was the lone representative of the Malaysian-Polynesian language group (or macro-family) with an attested history of some time depth. In fact, Humboldt's combined genetic and typological approach to the study of Kavi anticipates an approach to comparative linguistics not heeded by the neogrammarians (who, as is well known, were almost entirely preoccupied with genetic linguistics, using the *Stammbaum* as their metaphoric model) but a century later boldly—and, to be sure, lopsidedly—advocated by N. S. Trubetzkoy in his famous, much-attacked, while insufficiently appreciated paper on the "Indo-European problem," first presented in the Prague Circle in 1936 and published posthumously in 1939.[5]

Humboldt's study of the Kavi language also modified the methods of his contemporary fellow scholars when applied to the study of Ancient Indo-

European, its dialects and emerging language families. Moreover, given the retention of Malaysian morphosyntactic structure in Kavi, whereas its vocabulary at the same time was strongly influenced by Sanskrit lexical elements, Humboldt paid particular attention to the interaction of language and society, vocabulary and civilization. This is therefore yet another aspect of historical (and typological) linguistics pioneered by Humboldt and formulated by him in general philosophical terms. To be sure, partly this must be seen as purely metaphysical speculation, which therefore has given rise both to some misinterpretation and to a subsequent neglect of this important branch of language study. However, in recent years, the concern with the interaction of language and society once again has come to the fore, both in America (with B. L. Whorf, E. Sapir, and other linguists interested particularly in unrecorded or only recently recorded Amerindian languages) and in Europe (cf. notably the French sociological school of linguists, from F. de Saussure and A. Meillet to J. Vendryes and E. Benveniste). As is well known, some fundamental typological concepts of Humboldt's linguistic thought—the notion of "inner" and "outer form," in particular—have subsequently been adopted and reinterpreted, indeed also distorted, in more recent trends of linguistic theory, including the several phases of the MIT School's TG-to-GB grammar. At any rate, in N. Chomsky's "discovery" of the affinity between his mentalistic approach to language and the universal grammar of Porte Royale, the label "Humboldtian" linguistics—which, as indicated, shares a good deal with Sapir's view of language—would probably have been more fitting than that of "Cartesian" linguistics.

We have dwelled at some length on Humboldt's achievements in the field of historical-typological linguistics and its consequences primarily because of the various influences which Potebnja experienced in his early years, this one was undoubtedly the most profound. Turning now to Potebnja's own linguistic work, we note that his somewhat casually compiled major, four-volume set, appropriately titled *From Notes on Russian Grammar* (cf. note 2, above), cannot by any means be considered a systematic canonical historical grammar of Russian in the pre-neogrammarian vein. For, as was already indicated, it does, in many of its sections, clearly go beyond the approach adopted at about the same time by the Leipzig "young grammarians."

Generally, it can be said that even though the word gram*mar* appears in the title of Potebnja's work, the emphasis is clearly on syntax. Possibly influenced by Darwin's then popular theory of evolution, Potebnja did not accept the notion, until then widespread, that the simplification or decay of the morphological system, and in particular the inflection, of a language is tantamount to its general decline. On the contrary, Potebnja was of the opinion that the less "energy of thought" found in a language—a notion vaguely conceived and poorly defined, to be sure—the more that language needs phonological and morphological differentiation to fulfill its communicative function. By the same token, the "wear and tear," especially what has been referred to as phonological erosion, that some languages have undergone in no way justifies a negative assessment

of that language, not to speak of the fact that value judgments are inappropriate in any objective linguistic description. Consequently, the retention of a rich morphological subsystem, say, in declension, can by no means be considered a particular asset of a language, as was previously thought.

At the outset of his work, Potebnja considered the fundamental issues of grammatical (morphosyntactic) structure and notably, after an attempt to define the word as a linguistic unit, the relationship between, on the one hand, the (syntactic) constituent "sentence members" (*členy predloženija*), roughly corresponding to syntagms or phrases (in the technical, grammatical sense) which combine to make up a clause or a complete sentence, and, on the other, the (morphologically defined) parts of speech, or word classes (*časti reči*). However, as is well known, the precise status of some purported word classes, in particular that of predicatives, i.e., lexical items belonging to what has been termed "category of state" (*kategorija sostojania*), remain to this day controversial. Compare further the problematic morphological status of some ossified so-called "inserted words" (also referred to as "parenthetical words," *vvodnye slova*) of the type *deskat'*, 'they say, it is said,' *mol*, 'he says, they say,' or that of particles and interjections, the latter in particular only in part fitting into the overall pattern of Russian sentence structure. After discussing these more theoretical and language-philosophical issues, Potebnja, in the first two volumes of his *magnum opus*, turned to general problems of Slavic historical grammar, since for him this was the only reliable way to explain and relate the linguistic data, both diachronically and synchronically. In this connection it should be mentioned that Potebnja was predisposed (by virtue of his family background) to work in the field of Slavic comparative linguistics, since in childhood he mastered three Slavic languages—his native Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish (he attended high school in Radom); soon enough he added a thorough knowledge of both Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian. The last chapter of volume 1, dealing with the sentence and its parts, could just as well have been the opening section of volume 2, where the focus is almost entirely on syntax.

In the subsequent volumes, 3 and 4, part 1, the evolution of the noun (substantive as well as adjective) is sketched and commented on with great insight, while volume 4, part 2, is primarily devoted to a further elaboration of the verb and the formal means of expressing predication.

One of the key questions in both descriptive and historical linguistics of the time—the 1870s and 1880s—was what to consider primary in human speech—the verb (and the general function of predication) or the noun (and the naming function, i.e., nomination). Until then (and in part also subsequently), different linguists and linguistic schools had come out in favor of one or the other, usually on flimsy, purely speculative, allegedly "philosophical" grounds. Yet the question is crucial indeed. Potebnja posited it in very objective terms as contingent on the primacy and the relationship of "sentence members" versus parts of speech, or in other words, the syntactic versus the morphological units of language. Potebnja resorted in passing to the univeral issue of language

acquisition (and child language)—thus exploring, albeit in a preliminary and tentative way, an area of research subsequently so fruitfully studied by R. Jakobson (who, as is well known, drew far-reaching conclusions from the opposite yet parallel phenomena of language acquisition and language loss, or aphasia).[6] While doing so, Potebnja approached the problem of the primacy of the predicative versus the nominative function of language, again, essentially on the basis of the data yielded by historical grammar. For him, the center of attention was the predicate—including the "secondary predicate" (*vtorostepennoe skazuemoe*), constituted by a syntactically semi-autonomous participial construction—in his overall attempt to establish the relationship between syntax and morphology and their respective categories. It may be mentioned here that when Jagić, in his controversy with Miklosich concerning the puzzling syntactic structure where a finite verb form is joined to a nonfinite (participial) verb form by means of a copulative conjunction, considered the participial constructions to be used correctly in the earlier phase of Slavic due to their "predicative force," he was strongly influenced by Potebnja's pertinent view. Miklosich, on the contrary, felt that all instances of a fully "predicative" usage of participles on a par with finite verb forms must be considered as owing to scribal errors, among other things, because they had no counterpart in the Greek originals of the Old Church Slavonic texts (for a more detailed discussion of this issue, see my study quoted in note 3). Another large section of Potebnja's work treats the use of the instrumental, again, with particular attention paid to its predicative use. As is well known, the notion that it is precisely predication which determines the sentential character of a well-formed word string (while one serving mere naming, or nomination, does not constitute a syntactic sentence) has gained wide acceptance among adherents of "dependency theory" as well as other linguistic schools. Thus, the very core of Potebnja's insights about grammatical structure—of universal or, at any rate, broadly typological bearing—is sound and valid also today, even though his own claims do not go beyond the historical and contemporary data which he discussed.

As was pointed out by V. I. Borkovskij in his introduction to volume 3 of Potebnja's *Iz zapisok*, the results of the Ukrainian scholar also stand up well to the findings of more recent research concerning the development of adverbs and derived (denominal) adjectives as well as gerunds (deverbal adverbs, from uninflected participles), the formation—and largely, retention—of impersonal sentences, and the gradual emergence of hypotactic sentence structures.

From today's perspective, what strikes us as particularly attractive about Potebnja's treatment of morphosyntax and its historical evolution is the fact that all his theories take concrete data as a point of departure. In contrast to Humboldt, who had characterized the ancient state of one specific exotic language and drawn far-reaching generalizations from it—of great value, to be sure, for our understanding of universal grammar and of language typology—Potebnja sketched the development from Early East Slavic to Modern (late nineteenth-century) Russian, if not, as indicated, very systematically, then still in an attempt

to capture precisely the overall diachronic dimension by focusing on evolution and not merely presenting a variety of "synchronic slices." While this approach to the evolution of one early attested language (or language family) was in itself quite common with the neogrammarian—as well as some pre-neogrammarian—linguists with a historical-comparative proclivity, what was peculiar to Potebnja was that he combined this approach with typological and generally theoretical considerations pertaining to linguistic change. In this sense, then, he was a truly modern linguist, or rather, perhaps, a linguist prefiguring the modern approach to diachronic linguistics.

Since Potebnja was limited in terms of his data to Indo-European (with only an occasional foray into other language families), his typological and language-universal research was somewhat constrained. His virtual contemporary H. Winkler was less restricted in terms of the data he was able to use, as his was a mastery of Uralic and Altaic, in addition to a thorough knowledge of Ancient Indo-European. His fundamental works on the typology of linguistic evolution could therefore in fact have a broader application than did Potebnja's chief contribution.[7]

This is not the place to pursue the course of historical-typological linguistics in Russia up to and beyond the works of I. I. Meščaninov and his disciples. Their early association with N. Ja. Marr's entirely unscientific "new teaching about language" (*novoe učenie o jazyke*) was dealt a blow by Stalin in his famous 1951 intervention, with disastrous consequences for the adherents of this "school," many of whom were discredited far beyond what they deserved.[8]

In conclusion, however, the contribution made by F. F. Fortunatov, who as a devout yet innovative neogrammarian gave historical and typological language research a new and different direction, should be mentioned. It was his commanding influence that set the tone for historical linguistics in the Russian Empire rather than Potebnja's initiative which, had it attracted more attention at the time, might have offered an alterative course of research. Instead, as a highly competent Indo-European linguist and comparatist and as the dominant figure in the field by virtue of his holding the Chair of Indo-European Studies at Moscow University, Fortunatov prevailed. In Moscow, he repeatedly read a "Course of Comparative Linguistics" and another one on "Comparative Morphology of the Indo-European Languages." These lectures, however, were not published during his lifetime but were merely mimeographed for distribution among his students; they were therefore available only in Russia, and did not appear in print until the mid-1950s.[9] With his neogrammarian background, Fortunatov became the founder of a particular Russian variety of the Leipzig-based school, the so-called formalistic trend in Russian grammatical research, characterized by a rigorous simultaneous analysis of form and meaning. Fortunatov's "formalistic" method yielded largely typological classifications and characterizations in the field of comparative Indo-European morphology. Contrary to Potebnja and Winkler, in his grammatical analysis Fortunatov proceeded from the morpheme to the word and on to the word-combination

(*slovosočetanie*). Thus, his phonological-morphological method was based strictly on the word, its constituent parts (morphemes) and possible combinations, whereas the basic linguistic unit for Potebnja was the sentence. The range of possibilities available in Slavic and, generally, Indo-European was tested by Fortunatov according to his method. As regards meaning, the Russian linguist was able to take advantage of the insights gained about this time in the field of semantics by the French scholar M. Bréal.

While strict and unyielding, and grown out of the mechanistic view of language evolution propounded by the neogrammarians, the exactitude and rigor of Fortunatov's methodology, combined with his academic position, were bound to inspire some of his students to pursue similar endeavors. Thus, the "Fortunatov School" yielded some remarkable scholars, A. I. Sobolevskij, P. A. Lavrov, and D. N. Ušakov among them, who in turn were the teachers of yet another crop of Russian linguists—themselves, in addition, inspired by the two brilliant scientists of language of the Kazan' School, J. Baudouin de Courtenay and M. Kruszewski, and, subsequently, also by the writings of the Geneva linguist, F. de Saussure.

This brief outline of Potebnja's diachronic and typological contribution to Russian morphosyntax viewed in its historical context does not, needless to say, claim to do full justice to the Ukrainian scholar's profound linguistic thought. For further reference the following titles may be consulted:

Belorussov, I. *Sintaksis russkogo jazyka v issledovanijax Potebni.* Orel: Tip. Xaliževa, 1901.

Bilodid, I. K. et al., eds. *O. O. Potebnja i dejaki pytannja sučasnoji slavistyky.* Kharkiv: Vydavnyctvo Kharkivs'koho Deržavnoho Universytetu, 1962.

Bilodid, O. I. *Hramatyčna koncepcija O. O. Potebni.* Kyiv: Vyšča škola, 1977.

Čekovyč, K. *Oleksander Potebnja. Ukrajins'kyj myslytel'-lingvist.* Warsaw: Ukrajins'kyj Naukovyj Instytut, 1931.

Frančuk, V. Ju. *Oleksandr Opanasovyč Potebnja.* Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1985.

Frančuk, V. Ju. A. A. Potebnja i slavjanskaja filologija, *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1992/4, 123–30.

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Frančuk, V. Ju. et al., eds. *O.O. Potebnja i problemy sučasnoji filolohiji.* Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1992.

Ižakevyč, H. P. et al., eds. *Potebnjans'ki čytannja.* Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1961.

Ovsjaniko-Kulikovskij, D. *A..A.. Potebnja, kak jazkoved'-myslitel'.* Kyiv: Tip. G. T. Korčak-Novickago, 1893 (offprint from the journal *Kievskaja Starina*).

Žovtobrjux, M. A. et al., eds. *Oleksandr Opanasovyč Potebnja. Juvilejnyj zbirnyk do 125-riččja z dnja narodžennja.* Kyiv: Vydavnyctvo Akademiji nauk URSR, 1962.

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1. For an appreciation of Potebnja's role in Russian (and Ukrainian) literary theory and criticism, see, e.g., S. Cassedy, *Flight From Eden: The Origins of Modern Literary Criticism and Theory* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 39–46, 48–52, 59–62, 117–19, 141, 230–31 (notes 3–8, 10–21). On Potebnja's theory of poetics, see further O. Presnjakov, *Poètika poznanija i tvorčestva. Teorija slovesnosti A. A. Potebni* (Moscow: Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1980). For my own presentation of Potebnja's historical-typological approach to Russian morphosyntax, I am indebted to L. Dezső's article "Approaches to Historical Typology of Morphosyntax, Past and Present," *Dissertationes Slavicae* (1988), 39–54, where Potebnja's contribution is viewed in a broader historical context.

2. Potebnja's monumental linguistic work is his *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*, with a deliberately vague, preliminary title, of which only volumes 1 and 2 appeared in his lifetime (2nd rev. and exp. ed., Kharkiv, 1888/1889), whereas volumes 3 and 4 were not published until after his death (vol. 3 in 1899 and vol. 4 not until 1941). A complete re-edition (of 1958–77), with commentary, is now available.

3. See H. Birnbaum, "Vatroslav Jagić's Beitrag zur slavischen Syntax," *Jagičev Zbornik*, ed. I. Frangeš et al. (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1986), 225–51, esp. 229, 235, 247–49.

4. W. v. Humboldt, *Über die Kavi-Sprache auf der Insel Jawa nebst einer Einleitung über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaus und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts,* 3 vols. (Berlin: Dümmler, 1836/38/39).

5. N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem," *Acta Linguistica* 1 (Copenhagen, 1939), 81–89. On the necessity of applying a combined genetic and typological approach to language change (which therefore amounts to taking into account divergence as well as convergence), see also my study "Divergence and Convergence in Linguistic Evolution," *Papers from the 6th International Conference on Historical Linguistics* [=Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 4: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 34], (Amsterdam/Poznań: J. Benjamins/A. Mickiewicz University Press, 1985), 1–24. (Russian variant: "O dvux osnovnyx napravlenijax v jazykovom razvitii," *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1985/2, 32–42.)

6. Cf. Roman Jakobson, *Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1941 [1942:9]; reprinted several times and available also in English translation).

7. Cf. H. Winkler, *Zur Sprachgeschichte. Nomen, Verbum und Satz. Antikritik* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1887); id., *Weiteres zur Sprachgeschichte. Grammatisches Geschlecht. Formlose Sprachen. Entgegnung* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1889).

8. Cf. I. I. Meščaninov, *Členy predloženija i časti reči* (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1945); id., *Glagol* (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1949); id., *Èrgativnaja konstrukcija v jazykax različnyx tipov* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1967); id., *Problemy razvitija jazyka* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975). Of Meščaninov's followers two, in particular, deserve mention, as they have substantially contributed to fresh insights into language typology (in its universal and diachronic aspects): M. M. Guxman, *Istoričeskaja tipologija i problema diaxroničeskix konstant* (Moscow: Nauka, 1981); S. D. Kacnel'son, *Tipologija jazyka i rečevoe myšlenie* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1972); id., *Obščee i tipologičeskoe jazykoznanie* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1986).

9. Cf. F. F. Fortunatov, *Izbrannye trudy* 1–2 (Moscow: Učpedіz, 1956). The two courses referred to appear in vol. 1, 23–199 and vol. 2, 257–426, respectively.

On TRЪT Reflexes in Ukrainian*

CHRISTINA Y. BETHIN

Among the intriguing problems of Slavic historical linguistics is the development of liquid and jer sequences between consonants, abbreviated as TRъT below, in southwestern East Slavic. This is reflected in Ukrainian and Belarusian forms such as U *kryvavyj*, BR *kryvavy* from Late Common Slavic *krъvavъjь 'bloody'.[1] Ukrainian, Belarusian, and some southern Russian dialects show a front vowel reflex for the weak jer, /y/ in Ukrainian, e.g., U *kryvavyj* 'bloody', *dryžaty* 'to tremble', *hrymity* 'to thunder', *hlytaty* 'to swallow'; and /i/ [y] in Belarusian, e.g., BR *kryvavy* 'bloody', *dryžac'* 'to tremble', *hrymec'* 'to thunder', *hlytac'* 'to swallow'. Some southwestern Ukrainian dialects (SWU) have reflexes in which the /y/ precedes the liquid, as in *kyrvavyj* 'bloody', *dyržaty* 'to hold', *xyrbet* 'spine'. In strong position, i.e., before a weak jer in the following syllable, the vowel is typical of strong jer reflexes, as in U *krov* 'blood' (‹ *krъvь). Russian dialects to the northeast have reflexes equivalent to those of strong jers after the liquid even in weak position, e.g., R *krov'* 'blood', *krovi* 'blood' (prep. sg.), *krovavyj* 'bloody', *drožat'* 'to tremble', *gremet'* 'to thunder', *glotat'* 'to swallow', whereas Polish to the West shows the loss of these jers in weak position, e.g., *krwi* 'blood' (prep. sg.), *krwawy* 'bloody', *drżeć* 'to tremble', *grzmieć* 'to thunder'.

This study attempts to account for the vowel reflex of a weak jer in southwestern East Slavic and for its position relative to the liquid (TRy vs. TyR) by principles of syllable structure. It assumes that syllable structure has independent status in the phonology of a language and that there are specific constraints on its constituents and on their association to sounds/segments. The representation of syllable structure includes prosodic units called moras, which, in addition to relating certain syllable positions to segments, also contribute to syllable weight. A syllable may be monomoraic (light) or bimoraic (heavy). A syllable peak is always associated with a mora. In some languages syllable codas are also moraic, i.e., closed syllables with short vowels are heavy. Languages differ with respect to which segments may be moraic: in some languages only vowels can be syllable peaks, in others vowels and liquids may serve as syllable peaks, and there are languages in which almost any sound can be syllabic. Syllable onsets do not as a rule have moraic value. The universally preferred syllable type is CV (Jakobson 1958/1971:526), so the presence of codas in the syllable structure of a language has to be specially indicated or marked. Since codas in Slavic do not contribute to syllable weight, they will be considered nonmoraic.

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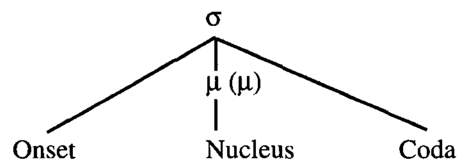
A working model of the syllable is given in (1).

(1)



Viewing syllable structure as a hierarchical (or nonlinear) representation enables us to understand various phonological phenomena as changing relationships among the elements or levels of a syllable. For example, the loss of a segment may, but need not, entail the loss of its associated mora (syllable weight). This means that if a moraic segment is lost, the mora associated with it may be reassociated to another potentially moraic segment within the syllable. I will assume, given the history of the Slavic languages, that sonorants (S) were at one time moraic and that an innovation in certain areas of Late Common Slavic (LCS) was a constraint on the moraicity of sonorant consonants. This constraint, abbreviated as $S \neq \mu$, will be shown to function in the interpretation of TRъT reflexes in Ukrainian. If the unmarked syllable is CV, then the occurrence of CVS syllable types has to be indicated by a special marking. One could do this in several ways. Recent work in phonology formulates a No Coda Constraint as a universal principle of syllable structure. This negative constraint reflects the preferred status of CV syllables over CVC or CVS types. Another possibility is to have a positive coda constraint in a given system. This constraint could also specify what types of codas are preferred, i.e., it could specify a coda condition. For example, many languages allow only sonorant consonants or one part of a geminate consonant in coda position. The exact specification of the coda constraint is not critical to the argument here, and I will assume that certain areas of Slavic have some mechanism for indicating that their syllable template has a coda.

It is generally accepted that the jer in TRъT sequences in weak position was lost in southwestern East Slavic. Lehr-Spławiński (1921), Bulaxovs'kyj (1956:176–77, 180), Trubetzkoy (1925) and others, took this to be a feature distinguishing south[west]ern East Slavic from north[east]ern developments (Russian), where the jers are usually preserved next to a liquid even in weak position.[2] Trubetzkoy (1925:297) interprets the development of Ukrainian and Belarusian TRъT into TRyT as the result of jer loss and vowel epenthesis, while the Russian reflexes are said to be the consequence of jer strengthening in the environment of a liquid regardless of position.[3] But Slavists disagree about the nature of the liquid in TRT clusters. Those who argue for a stage of syllabic liquids in the history of Ukrainian postulate the development of TRъT sequences to have been as follows (with minor variations, where R̥ represents a syllabic

liquid): TRъT > TRT > TR̥T > TRyT (Šaxmatov 1915/1967:236–41; Lehr-Spławiński 1921:61–62; Bulaxovs'kyj 1951:273; Bezpal'ko et al. 1957:123–25; Bernštejn 1961:271; Sidorov 1966:11–14; Filin 1972:234–37; Andersen 1972:33–34; Žovtobrjux et al. 1979:185–87).[4] This interpretation seems to derive a secondary syllabicity on the liquid when it is between two consonants. Others do not accept syllabic liquids for this area of Late Common Slavic. Shevelov (1979:375) rejects syllabic liquids in Ukrainian on several grounds.[5] He also rejects the possibility that the liquids may have become syllabic at a later time in order to resolve a difficult consonant cluster because he sees no motivation for the appearance of a vowel next to an already syllabic liquid. Instead he proposes (1979:365) that the development of TRъT sought to resolve two-sonority-peak syllables by vowel insertion (anaptyxis), not immediately after the loss of jers but in what he refers to as the Middle Ukrainian period (especially from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries), and that this process took place word-initially or word-internally and in a different form also root-, stem- and word-finally.

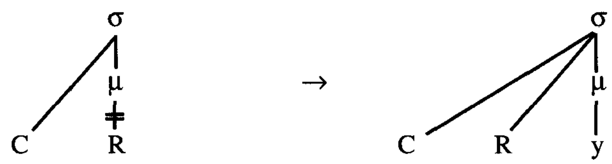
Those who postulate a later intermediate syllabic liquid stage do not account for the subsequent loss of syllabicity nor for why, when the jer or the syllabicity of the liquid was lost, epenthesis took place sometimes after the liquid (northeastern Ukrainian) and at other times before the liquid (southwestern Ukrainian). The view which holds that the liquid was nonsyllabic and part of a consonant cluster also faces the difficulty of explaining why a vowel appeared in one of two different places. Neither interpretation offers a convincing explanation for why the vowel appears as /y/ when other cases of epenthesis in Ukrainian usually involve /e/ and /o/, nor, as already mentioned, for the position of the inserted vowel.[6]

I would like to propose that the Ukrainian developments are the result of two constraints on syllable structure. The first is the emergence of a restriction on the moraic (syllabic) liquids (S ≠ μ) in the northeastern part of East Slavic which eventually spread to the southwestern part of East Slavic. The second is a marked preference for syllable codas in the southwestern dialects of Ukrainian. The interaction of these two structural constraints resulted in the interpretation of syllabic liquids as either Ry or yR. Thus originally moraic (and syllabic) liquids became nonmoraic, but the mora itself (or the syllable) was not lost. The process of deriving moraic liquids in the cases under discussion began with the loss of weak jers. The remaining mora was then transferred to a preceding liquid as in (2), resulting in moraic (syllabic) liquids.

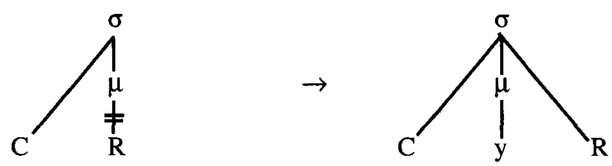
(2)

When the constraint against moraic consonants spread to these dialects, syllables with moraic liquids posed a problem. They were resolved by the epenthesis of a segment that could be moraic and the liquid was moved to the syllable margin. The interesting complication here is the direction of movement: in most dialects of Ukrainian the liquid became part of the syllable onset, i.e., TRy, but in the southwestern Ukrainian dialects the liquid moved into syllable coda position, i.e., TyR. This movement was guided by phonological syllable structure: in the southwest the preferred syllable structure had a coda position, elsewhere there was no such stipulation. The interaction of syllable structure constraints with the constraint against moraic liquids is shown in (3).

(3) Standard Ukrainian



Southwestern Ukrainian dialects (marked for coda preference)



This version of events conforms to the chronology of changes in the jers: they were lost in weak position in the southwestern part of LCS (and in the southwestern area of East Slavic) before they were lost in the northeast (Šaxmatov 1915/1967:216; Malkova 1981). In Russian, jers persisted until the constraint on moraic sonorants came into effect, but in Ukrainian and Belarusian they were lost before the constraint reached this area. This could explain the different reflexes of jers in the northeast and southwest of East Slavic in TRъT groups. In Russian, the /e/ and /o/ are the continuation of retained vowel (jer) syllable peaks. But the /y/ reflex of Ukrainian and Belarusian represents the emergence of a new syllable peak after the moraic liquid could no longer function in this role.[7] The loss of the jer next to the liquid apparently did not entail the loss of the mora. The remaining mora then became associated with the liquid and served as the syllable peak. If the jers were lost by the mid-twelfth century here, then this situation may have obtained for some time. In fact, the spelling 'liquid + /y/' becomes widespread in Ukrainian texts only from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, while in the SWU area texts have either no vowel or

vowel plus liquid and liquid plus vowel variants. It appears that the SWU area preserved moraic liquids longer because Ry/yR variants begin to show up only in mid-sixteenth century texts.[8] The vowel that fulfills this function is not the reflex of a jer, suggesting that the jer was actually lost in these cases. Its manifestation as /y/ may be the way Ukrainian represents a vowel slot that has no features associated with it (a schwa-type filler) but which is necessary to serve as the syllable peak. The variety of vowel reflexes found in this environment in some SWU dialects attests to the vowel's function as a syllable-bearing segment and not as a set of underlying distinctive features.[9] Eastern Slovak, which is contiguous to the SWU dialects, does not tolerate syllabic liquids either. Pauliny (1963:156–170) cites the following dialectal variants in Slovak for *rъʒa 'rust': *riʒa, reʒa, erʒa, arʒa, orʒa, orʒa, ʒerz, ʒerʒina*. This analysis provides a plausible explanation for why the vowel is /y/ and not /e/ or /o/ in Ukrainian, and for the different positions of the vowel next to the liquid.

The resolution of violations of the S ≠ μ constraint as either Ry or yR depended on the specific type of syllable structure that characterized a given speech area. In this sense the developments within Ukrainian are in a continuum between the western (Polish and Eastern Slovak) and eastern (Russian) areas of northern LCS in terms of syllable structure. Given the preference of (North) West Slavic languages for sonorant syllable codas, it appears that this area of LCS was characterized by a CVS syllable template. This syllable structure is the result of curtailing the No Coda Constraint at a critical time in the historical development of West Slavic (Bethin, in preparation). The northeastern LCS area, on the contrary, seemed to exhibit CV syllables with no specific restriction on syllable codas. In Ukrainian we see a transition between these two syllable types. As expected, the yR reflex occurs in southwestern Ukrainian dialects, while Ry is found in northeastern Ukrainian.[10]

Andersen (1972:33) describes the diphthongization of syllabic liquids as a case of intrasegmental variation: "when a syllabic sonorant is diphthongized, the onset of its consonantal properties is delayed, and its initial portion becomes vowel-like, unmarked with respect to the feature [± consonantal]. If the syllabic sonorant undergoes phonemic diphthongization, its initial portion will be identified with some specific vowel phoneme." Andersen (p. 34) calls the opposite development peak reinforcement. Under the analysis given here, whether a system chooses peak attenuation (VR) or peak reinforcement (RV) is a consequence of its syllable structure. If a system has a marked preference for syllable codas, then the diphthongization of a syllabic liquid would be more likely peak attenuation as in SWU *kyrvavyj*. Insofar as this analysis operates with the concept of abstract or phonological syllable structure, the account of the TRъT reflexes is more than merely descriptive.

It is interesting to speculate why TRъT sequences developed differently from TъRT groups in Ukrainian and to compare both to developments in TORT sequences. On the basis of differences in the TъRT and TRъT reflexes found in

Eastern Slovak dialects, van Wijk (1930) argued that the changes in these sequences were unrelated. Although both produced syllabic liquids in Slovak, the changes in TъRT were much earlier than changes in TRъT. The Ukrainian/ Belarusian developments do not contradict this postulated chronology, though they were different from developments to the west. In East Slavic the jer in TъRT type sequences is represented by a strong jer reflex, even in weak position. It appears that these were instances of jer strengthening in position before a liquid. The question is, why were jers strengthened or retained in TъRT groups, even in so-called weak position? Proximity to a liquid is not a sufficient explanation. It is only jers before a liquid that are somehow protected from loss; those in position after a liquid seem to have undergone the usual strong-weak jer development. For purposes of discussion, TъRT, TORT, and TRъT sequences may be viewed as follows:

(4) a. T ъ R T (ъ and R linked to one μ)   b. T $\underset{\mu}{\text{O}}$ $\underset{\mu}{\text{R}}$ T   c. T R $\underset{\mu}{\text{ъ}}$ T

Both (4a) and (4b) represent liquid diphthongs and they probably underwent a parallel development (Jakobson 1952), though they produced different reflexes. There seems to be persuasive textual evidence that the liquid in these types of sequences was in the syllable nucleus.[11] In liquid diphthongs the vowel was not lost. As a moraic segment and a vowel it simply became the syllable peak. The generalization of monomoraic syllables made (4b) bisyllabic, but the constraint against moraic liquids resulted in vowel epenthesis (or vowel copy) in (4b) and in the loss of syllabicity on the liquid in (4a). In other words, in TORT the bimoraic group which had been reinterpreted as bisyllabic (before liquids lost their ability to be associated with a mora), found that the independent syllabic/ moraic liquid (R̥) could not function as a peak in the face of the emerging $S \neq \mu$ constraint. The liquid became a syllable onset and the mora was carried by a copy vowel, i.e., TO-R̥-T > TO-RV-T > TOROT. In monosyllabic TъRT groups there already was a vowel, the jer, which could become the syllable peak. The liquid was relegated to the coda. By contrast, the remaining TRъT groups already conformed to syllable structure constraints.

The changes in TRъT groups came later. The liquid was part of the syllable onset and the development of the jers was parallel, for the most part, to that of strong and weak jers elsewhere in southwestern East Slavic. The loss of a weak jer here left a complex sequence of consonants with a sonority peak in the middle. In some areas this sequence remained as a consonant cluster (e.g., P *krwi*), but in southwestern East Slavic TRъT groups appear to have lost the jer at a time when the liquid still had the potential to be moraic.[12] Although there was a general tendency for liquids to become nonmoraic adjacent to a vowel in East Slavic, if the vowel (here, the jer) was lost due to other factors, its mora was

transferred to the liquid. In other words, the liquid would have been positionally moraic, as it still is in some Slavic languages today. Ukrainian and Belarusian, unlike Russian, still exhibit some moraic properties. For example, one might interpret the alternation between /i/ ~ /i̯/ and /u/ ~ /u̯/ as an indication that Ukrainian has a tendency to retain moraicity on some sonorants. They are potential syllable peaks, depending on their position, and may become syllable nuclei, just as vowels may lose their syllabicity and become glides. One such alternation is found in word-initial position and U *ubyty* vs *vbyty* 'to kill', *vin ide* 'he goes' but *vona i̯de* 'she goes', *učytel'a* 'teacher', gen sg *pro u̯čytel'a* 'about the teacher', may be cited as examples. The appearance of the vowel or the glide seems to be conditioned by syllable structure.

If we take syllable structure into account in considering the historical development of Ukrainian, then the reflexes of LCS TRъT sequences may be viewed as rather fairly straightforward developments constrained by the parameters of the Ukrainian linguistic system. *The Ry/yR reflexes of Ukrainian are the accommodation of a moraic liquid to syllable structure constraints.* To summarize, the liquid became moraic when the jer was lost, leaving an unassociated mora. But the moraic liquid could not continue to serve as a syllable peak in the presence of the S $\neq \mu$ constraint. How this was resolved, i.e., where the vowel appeared, depended on the phonological syllable structure of a given system. Where the syllable template included a coda, the resolution was in favor of TyR; otherwise, TRy was the norm. The importance of syllable structure in this change is highlighted by dialect geography: TyR reflexes predominate in southwestern Ukrainian dialects which are close to Slovak and Polish with their overt preference for a CVS syllable template, while TRy reflexes are found in the greater northeastern area, adjacent to Russian.

The implication that changes in syllable structure may come about independently of the segments associated with a syllable is an interesting one. In other words, at the time of changes in syllabic liquids SWU was characterized by syllable structure that included a coda and it was these principles of syllable structure that determined how the syllabic liquid, in violation of the S $\neq \mu$ constraint, was resolved. That syllable structure played a crucial role in the evolution of Slavic, especially in the form of the widely recognized law or tendency for open syllables, is widely accepted. But there is also some evidence that syllable structure parameters continued to play a significant and independent role in the further evolution of Slavic, both as the motivation for and as a constraint on language change. The reflexes of TRъT in Ukrainian are one example of such syllable structure effects. The extent to which syllable structure interacted with other phonological and prosodic developments in Slavic is the topic of another study.

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NOTES

1. The designation TRъT represents Late Common Slavic sequences of a consonant followed by either /r/ or /l/, in turn followed by a front or back jer, before another consonant, as in *krъv- 'blood'. The symbol /y/ is used here to represent the Ukrainian /y/ spelled "и" and the Belarusian [y] allophone of /i/, spelled "ы". Šaxmatov (1915/1967:236–37) finds a few forms with /i/ as does Shevelov (1979:465–66), e.g., *trivoha, skirwawlena,* but in general the reflex is /y/. The following abbreviations are used: BR = Belarusian, LCS = Late Common Slavic, OCS = Old Church Slavic, U = Ukrainian, SWU = Southwestern Ukrainian dialects.

2. The rather numerous occurrences of /e/ and /o/ in original TRъT sequences in Ukrainian, e.g., *bloxa* 'flea', *xrebet* 'spine', *sl'oza* 'tear', *brova* 'eyebrow', *krovi* 'blood', prep. sg., are said to be due to morphological levelling on the basis of a strong jer reflex before a weak jer elsewhere in the paradigm (usually the nom./acc. sg. or the gen. pl.), according to Shevelov (1979:467–70). The actual phonetic reflex of TRъT is said to occur in related forms such as *kryvavyj* 'bloody', *čornobryvyj* 'black eyebrow-ed', though the position of the vowel is said to be analogical to that in the nonderived paradigm (see also note 5). Potebnja (1878:803) took the -Ry- reflexes to be analogical to those in Polish, probably in the loss of the weak jer.

3. Trubetzkoy (1925:297) writes: "Es ist anzunehmen, daß in solchen Fällen die schwachen *ъ̆, ь̆* ursprünglich nach der allgemeinen Regel schwanden, und daß erst später die unbequemen Lautgruppen "Kons. + Liquida + Kons." durch Einschubvokale vereinfacht wurden. . . Dagegen bietet das Grr. in solchen Fällen Formen mit *o, e* nach der Liquida (*glotat', sleza, gremět', drožat'*), und, da *o, e* sonst nur die starken *ъ, ь* vertreten, so muß man annehmen, daß die schwachen Halbvokale in dieser Stellung (nämlich nach den anlautenden Gruppen "Kons. + Liquida") verstärkt worden sind" (p. 297). He does not specifically postulate syllabic liquids in the *southwestern area (Ukrainian and Belarusian) of East Slavic.*

4. Because the liquid-jer sequences had different developments within East Slavic and because U /y/ cannot be derived from a syllabic jer, Šaxmatov (1903:323 ff., 1915/1967:181–82) took these sequences to be syllabic liquids followed by a nonsyllabic jer. Bulaxovs'kyj (1951:273) writes: "у слабкій позиції ми мали у сполуках ръ, рь, лъ, ль, у зв'язку з занепадом слабких ъ, ь, послідовно такі зміни: ръ → р̥ (р складове) → ри; рь → р̥ (') (р' складове) → ри; лъ → л̥ (л складове) → ли; ль → л̥ (') (л' складове) → ли; напр.: кръвавыи → кр̥авий→ кривавий, дръжати → др̥жати → дрижати. . ." Bezpal'ko et al. (1957:123–24) postulate an intermediate syllabic liquid not only for Ukrainian and Belarusian, but for all of East Slavic: "Зредуковані ъ і ь у слабкій позиції після р та л занепали, а сонорні плавні перетворилися в складотворчі приголосні, що зрідка відбито й у давньоруських пам'ятниках: крстити (Лавр. літ.), крви (Полікарп. єв. 1307 р.), крве, крви (Луцьк. єв. XIV ст.). . ." (p. 123). According to Bezpal'ko et al. the subsequent loss of syllabicity resulted in epenthetic /e/ or /o/ in Russian and epenthetic /y/ in Ukrainian and Belarusian. Inexplicably, in SWU the vowel appears before the liquid. There is no discussion of these sequences in Filin (1962), but in his 1972 book he accepts Šaxmatov's theory of syllabic liquids with subsequent loss of syllabicity and the development of ы and и. It is not clear to him whether the southwestern Ukrainian reflex (yR) is due to metathesis. Given that spellings with ры, лы, ри, ли appear in thirteenth–fourteenth-century southwestern documents and that jers were probably lost in this area by the mid-twelfth century, Filin (1972:236) considers the existence of a stage of r, l or r̥, l̥ without syllabic vowels possible.

5. Among his reasons for rejecting syllabic liquids are the spellings "*ně klьnětesja* 'do not swear' (Hank 13c), *ko krščenьju* 'to baptism' (Hank M 14c), *vobrьdoša* 'wade in' 3 pl aorist (Hyp 1190)" for the expected "*ne klьnětesja, kъ krьščeniju, vъbrьdoša,*" which suggest to him that the vowel in the syllable preceding the liquid plus jer syllable behaved as if that jer were weak (not the liquid syllabic). The loss of the liquid in U *masnyj* 'greasy' from the older *maslьnoě,* gen. sg. fem. (Hyp. 1173) is also cited in support of his thesis insofar as syllabic liquids are supposedly not subject to deletion (Shevelov 1979:367, 375).

6. Shevelov (1979:473) summarizes his findings as follows: "The anaptyxis of y in root two-peak syllables. . . was phonetically conditioned in Lemk[ian]; but its motivation in N[orthern] and E[astern] U[krainian] was so in the choice of the vowel, whereas the place of the vowel, after the sonant, was influenced by morphological factors as well: *kryvávyj* and not *kyrvávyj* because of *krov: krovi*, etc." The southwestern Ukrainian area is said to have preserved two-peak syllables (i.e., sonorant-consonant clusters) longer than the north and east (p. 466). Flier (1993) showed that phonetic variation in word-final consonant plus sonorant clusters in East Slavic includes variants with /e/ and /o/, and that the vowel most frequently appears before the sonorant, not after it. In word-initial position Ukrainian (and Belarusian to an even greater extent, see Karskij [1955:260 ff] and Šaxmatov [1915/1967:233–35]) sometimes shows prothetic /y/ and /i/ before liquids followed by consonants, e.g., Shevelov (1979: 462–63) cites the variants *ylvovsky* 'of L'viv' (Ch 1421, L'viv), *ylžju* 'lie', acc. sg. (Peretc G 1540), *yrža* 'rust' (Njag 1758), as well as *Lyvova* 'L'viv', gen. sg., *lyvovskўy* and the Modern Standard Ukrainian *rvaty* ~ *irvaty* 'to tear'. The overall impression is that liquids tend to develop a syllable peak before the liquid (what Andersen [1972] refers to as 'peak attenuation'), at least word-finally and often word-initially. These developments are interesting because they suggest that the preference for a syllable coda is spreading in Ukrainian.

7. It is not impossible that the -Ry- spellings represented syllabic liquids, but given that the jer letters were probably used for that purpose in TъRъT (< *TъRT) spellings (Golyšenko 1962) and in SWU variants (TRъT , TъRT, TRT) of *TRъT, the use of /y/ suggests a different phenomenon, the emergence of a vocalic syllable peak.

8. Shevelov (1979:367) writes: "Spellings of the new type (S + i/y) became much more frequent in the M[iddle] U[krainian] time. Obviously, anaptyxis started being applied to such words in the N[orthern] U[krainian] dialects (from which area all the examples come) approximately by the 14th c." He cites *klyněte* 'curse', 2 p. pl. imp., *xrybet* 'spine', *hrymyt"* 'thunder', 3 p. sg., *trybux"* 'stomach' and others from a large variety of texts (p. 464 ff.) and points out that "the situation in the SWU dialects (Podolia, Bukovyna, Galicia, the Carpathian regions, probably S Volhynia) was indeed quite different" (p. 465). Here we find spellings with no vowels, e.g., *trvohy* 'alarm', gen. sg., *krvavў* 'bloody', acc. pl., as well as spellings with vowels preceding or following the liquid, e.g., *trybuxamy* 'stomach' instr. pl., *drўženja* 'shaking' and in later texts, *dyržaly* 'tremble', pl. past, *hyrtan"* 'throat' and the like.

9. Jers, however, if represented in the synchronic phonology of Ukrainian, would have certain distinctive features in the underlying representation (e.g., jers may cause palatalization of preceding consonants), but no association with syllable structure until such an association is assigned by a phonological rule.

10. Whether -yR- is indigenous to this area (Žovtobrjux et al. 1979:187) or the result of a later metathesis of -Ry- as Filin (1972:235) allows is not entirely clear. The appearance of these reflexes in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents suggests that they may be of later origin. If they are the result of metathesis, as the occurrence of several non-etymological cases (cf. *pyršč* 'pimple' and U *pryšč*), might indicate, then this would not be unmotivated, given the close contact of SWU dialects with CVS languages. But the reverse situation, TRyT reflexes in the southwest in the presence of TyRT reflexes in the northeast, would, according to my interpretation, be much less likely.

There is wide phonetic variation in vowel and liquid sequences in contemporary Western Ukrainian. The second volume of the *Atlas ukrajins'koji movy*, II. *Volyn', Naddnistrjanščina, Zakarpatt'ja i sumižni zemli* (1988) shows the variants: трибухи, теребухи, телебухи, талабухи, тирбухи, for тельбухи 'entrails' (map 64); блоха, блиха, блыха 'flea' (map 66); сльоза, слеза, слиза, сылза, слза 'tear' (map 68); кривавий, крывавый, кровавий, кирвавий, кырвавий for Standard Ukrainian кривавий 'bloody' (map 69); брови, бриви, брыва, обир'ва, обырва for брова or pl брови 'eyebrow'; дрива, дрыва, древо, дирва, дырва for дрова 'wood' (map 70), but the isoglosses for these variants, with the exception of some Ukrainian dialects on the territory of Slovakia, do not always coincide, so these differences may be lexicalized today. The one generalization that seems to hold to some degree is that CVR reflexes occur primarily in the

southwest. The clearest northeast vs. southwest Ukrainian isogloss is the one for 'well, spring', with криниця in the northeast and кирниця/кырниця in the southwest (map 71). See Shevelov (1979:467) for an historical account of this form. See also Žylko (1966:72, 178–79). Apparently, similar variation is found in Eastern Slovak dialects. Czambel (1906:350) cites -er/re- variants for older TRъT, sometimes in the same dialect (see also van Wijk 1930:370). Most of the Eastern Slovak area, however, shows a vowel before the liquid in these forms, e.g., *tervalo* 'it lasted', *kerscini* 'christening', *hirbet* 'spine', *kervi* 'blood', prep. sg., though less often for /l/. As van Wijk (1930:371) points out, "Die westlichen Mundarten ziehen Vokalentfaltung vor dem *l*, die östlichen dagegen hinter dem *l* vor; die Grenzen sind aber für jedes Wort andere." The Eastern Slovak data are consistent with the postulated CVS/CV syllable structure difference and the notion that moraic liquids were retained longer in the southwest.

11. Golyšenko (1962) concludes that the liquid was syllabic. Sidorov (1966) is of the opinion that these sequences were reanalyzed as bisyllabic, e.g., pъ -l̥- na. There is some evidence that the jer plus liquid rimes were different, perhaps "longer," than jers alone because there are instances of secondary pleophony in original TъRT forms. Whether this phonetic length should be represented as a phonological difference in mora count is not certain. Most -ъR- sequences remained tautosyllabic in East Slavic and the second pleophony spellings may have been renditions of moraic liquids. Sidorov's (1966:18 ff.) account, however, postulates a syllabic liquid in addition to the jer, much like developments in TORT-. The liquid is then said to have lost its syllabicity to the preceding jer, which lengthened and was realized as a strong jer reflex, e.g., *pъ-ł̥-na > *poł-na. When the TъRT sequence was followed by a jer, Sidorov proposes (pp. 19–20) that secondary pleophony took place as a regular phonetic development, limited only by paradigm regularity (stems without secondary pleophony). The development of TORT he represents as TORT > TOR̥T. It is not clear why the TORT structures did not simply produce a lengthened mid vowel in his analysis. Šaxmatov (1915/1967:273–81) attributes secondary pleophony to the length of the liquid, which supposedly resulted from the loss of final weak jers. It is interesting that instances of secondary pleophony today are found primarily in northeastern East Slavic (northwestern Russian) dialects. The reason for this might be that the southwest tolerated branching nuclei (diphthongs) more than did the northeast, where CV structure prevailed. There was some controversy in the Slavic linguistic literature about the phonetic nature of non-etymological jers next to liquids. Some Slavists interpreted them as an orthographic compromise between OCS and spoken East Slavic (e.g., Jagić 1876:360–77, Šaxmatov 1902: 315–17, 1915/1967:182–83), others suggested that the spelling represented East Slavic pronunciation, either a CVRC sequence or semi-pleophonic forms (e.g., Potebnja 1874:383 [where the term 'vtoroe polnoglasie' is first (?) used, p. 376], 1876:100; Vasiliev 1909:311–12), fully pleophonic forms (Markov 1961), or of syllabic liquids next to jers (van Wijk 1949–50; Sidorov 1966; Golyšenko 1962).

12. The fact that the postulated -R̥- in TR̥T (from TRъT) apparently develops differently from the liquid -R̥- in TOR̥T forms in Ukrainian is curious. The pleophonic development of TORT might be due to the earlier loss of moraicity on the liquid when it was next to a vowel than when it occurred between two consonants (TR̥T) where it functioned as the only syllable peak, but this is speculative. In any case, TORT changes took place before jer loss, probably in the period mid-eighth to mid-ninth century, so it is not improbable that TOROT and TR̥T coexisted in southwestern East Slavic for a period of time, as non-syllabic and syllabic liquids coexist in Slovak or Serbian and Croatian. The question of why Russian preserved jers after the liquid (TRъT sequences) remains to be studied. Filin (1972:235) attributes /e/ and /o/ here to analogy with other forms in the paradigm. Given that these were treated differently than jers in other contexts, it is possible that the liquid was somehow relevant (Bulaxovs'kyj 1956:177). The move to a monomoraic syllable in the northeast (Russian) together with the S $\neq \mu$ constraint resulted in the reinterpretation of the original equation *mora = syllable* as one of vowel (not liquid) = syllable. The elimination of the jer in liquid environments would have left three-member consonant clusters. While this is not unheard of in northeastern East Slavic (cf. *dъska 'board' > R dial. dska > tska [cka]), the identification of syllables with vowels in this part of LCS might have served to retain a vocalic segment whenever possible, especially if its loss would result in extensive clusters which violated sonority sequencing (see Filin [1972: 234] and Malkova [1981]).

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Segmentation, Rank, and Natural Class in Ukrainian Dialectology

MICHAEL S. FLIER

For Henning Andersen on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, 17 February 1994

The first two volumes of the most recent comprehensive Ukrainian dialect atlas (*AUM*) provide an abundance of data used to plot isoglosses that carve up Ukrainian-speaking territory into a multitude of shapes and sizes. Hundreds of multicolored maps arrayed in thematic sequence reveal at the outset the selective character of the enterprise. Some patterns of distribution are far-ranging, others quite limited; some are localized in relatively compact areas, other are diffused over the linguistic landscape. Depending on the feature, category, construction, or word under scrutiny, one and the same linguistic space may be viewed from as many different perspectives as there are criterial items.

The thematic arrangement of maps—phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical—is unquestionably only a preliminary, albeit vital, step on the way to determining synchronic and diachronic relationships among the isoglosses. Once the data have been accurately collected, tabulated and plotted—by no means a foregone conclusion—dialectologists and historical linguists are faced with the daunting problem of how to make sense of the patterning. The thematic divisions appropriate for ordered presentation can unfortunately also obscure dependency relationships among isoglosses representative of the same or different levels of description. A syntactic isogloss, for example, may be dependent on the isogloss that demarcates a morphological case syncretism; a morphological isogloss may be contingent on a particular set of phonological isoglosses.

The present study attempts to approach dialect geography from a more dynamic perspective in assuming the likelihood of links among phonological and morphological isoglosses demarcated on various maps scattered throughout the atlas. The demonstration of such connections indicates the potential for using the atlas to provide clearer insight into the historical development of Ukrainian.

Few scholars have used the material data of dialectology to greater effect than Henning Andersen in uncovering the paths of change in the history of the Slavic languages. A good example is his study of the so-called E > O change in East and West Slavic, in which he provides an important theoretical corrective for the analysis of isoglosses themselves. He proposes three alternative types of isoglosses, reflecting the nature of the innovation and the circumstances under

which it was introduced (Andersen 1978, 3). The SIMPLEX type (fig. 1) represents an isogloss based on the simple presence (A) or absence (∅) of an innovation. Thus, in the case of the E > O change, there are small enclaves across Russian territory that seem to have preserved **Ce* as *C'e* instead of *C'o*, e.g. North Russian dial. *kl'én* 'maple' vs. Russian (R) *kl'ón*. The deductive innovation permitting the reinterpretation of original *e* as *o* was the phonetic diphthongization of *e* as [ɛ͡ɔ], unless followed by a sharp consonant. It is conceivable that certain Russian dialects did not implement this phonetic innovation, thus precluding the possibility of the E > O change. Such an isogloss, traceable to the presence or absence of the diphthongization, would be considered simplex. The nonsimplex types all presuppose innovation, but under conditions of paradigmatic or syntagmatic bifurcation.

TYPES OF ISOGLOSSES

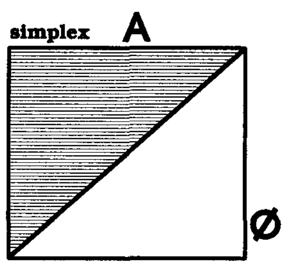

Fig. 1

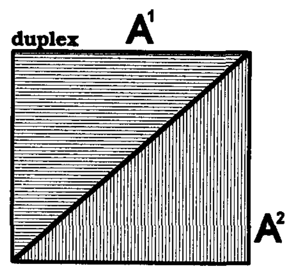

Fig. 2

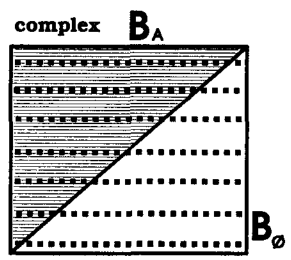

Fig. 3a

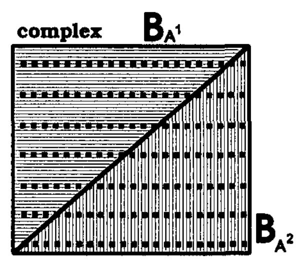

Fig. 3b

The DUPLEX type (fig. 2) shows an isogloss distinction based on two logically alternative innovations (A^1 vs. A^2) in a structurally homogenous territory. In fact, Andersen suggests (1978, 6, 13–14) that the *kl'én* ǁ *kl'ón* isogloss might not be simplex, but rather duplex. On this view, the diphthongization (deductive innovation) took place in all Russian dialects, but since the phonetic sequence [kl·⌈ɛɔ⌉nᵘ] permitted logically alternative interpretations of the

innovative diphthong—*e* or *o*—the actual reidentification of *e* as *o* (abductive innovation), although widespread, was not universal, as the existence of isolated pockets of *C'e* dialects suggests.

The COMPLEX type (figs. 3a, 3b) presents isogloss distinctions that result from shared innovation (B) superimposed on structurally heterogeneous territory. In 3a, the innovation B occurs across a linguistic domain previously divided by the presence or absence of innovation A, thus B_A vs. $B_\varnothing$. For example, according to Andersen's hypothesis, diphthongization of *e* was favored in syllables of relatively long duration and disfavored in syllables of relatively short duration. An isogloss that bisects Belarusian territory roughly from northwest to southeast separates dialects with the Belarusian (Br) non-past/2pl. form *n'as'ic'ó* 'carry' in the north from those with *n'es'ac'é* in the south; cf. Ukrainian (U) *nesetḗ*, R *n'os'ót'e* (несёте). Dialects south of the isogloss experienced the innovation of final shortening (A), while those north of the isogloss did not (∅). Despite the generality of the diphthongization, the shortened final syllable in the south disfavored the emergence of the diphthong in that environment and consequently precluded the reinterpretation of the final *e* (B_A), whereas the preserved duration of the final syllable vowel in the north favored the realization of the diphthong and the consequent reinterptetation of *e* as *o* ($B_\varnothing$).

In 3b, the innovation B covers an area bifurcated by two logically alternative innovations, thus B_A^1 vs. B_A^2. For example, an east-west isogloss across southwestern Belarus and northern Ukraine separates dialects to the north with *s'óli* 'village' (nom.pl.) and *žonáti* 'married' (adj./nom.sg.masc.) from those in the south with *séla* and *žonátÿj*. The diphthongization was common to both sets of forms but the *e* > *o* reinterpretation is dependent on the result of logical alternatives in the assessment of the sharping of the dental [s·] and the nonflat (unrounded) portion of the diphthong [ɛ͡ɔ]. In the north the dental was identified as independently sharped *s'* and the initial phase of the diphthong as an onglide of the vowel *o*, thus *s'o* (B_A^2). South of the isogloss, the sharping of [s˙] was interpreted as an offglide from the nonsharped dental *s* to the nonflat vowel *e*, thus *se* (B_A^1). The palatal *ž* was redundantly sharped in all environments and with the logical alternative of /±shp/ not present, the diphthong was analyzed as *o* in both dialects.

Such a typology of isoglosses—simplex, duplex, complex—ultimately affords a more precise analysis of the complexity of language change by contextualizing paradigmatic choices. In effect, it is not enough to say that an innovation has occurred or not; the innovation (singular or bifurcating) or its absence must be viewed in context, syntagmatically, within the linguistic space in which the potential for change was present.

Andersen's typology was originally presented as an analytical model for a more comprehensive understanding of phonological innovation. Nonetheless, the implicational relationships it presents are of utility in the study of morphophonemic change. The presence of distinct phonological conditions in different parts of an otherwise fairly homogenous linguistic space can increase

or decrease the likelihood of specific morphophonemic innovation. I will analyze two phonological and three morphological isoglosses from the first two volumes of the atlas to suggest the diachronic dependence of the latter on the former.

TONALITY AND THE JER SHIFT[1]

In the hierarchy of distinctive features of the Early Rusian vowel system, flatting (rounding, labialization) was ranked lower than gravity (see fig. 4). The distinctive, phonemic function of flatting was limited to the subhierarchy diffuse/grave.

EARLY RUSIAN VOWEL SYSTEM

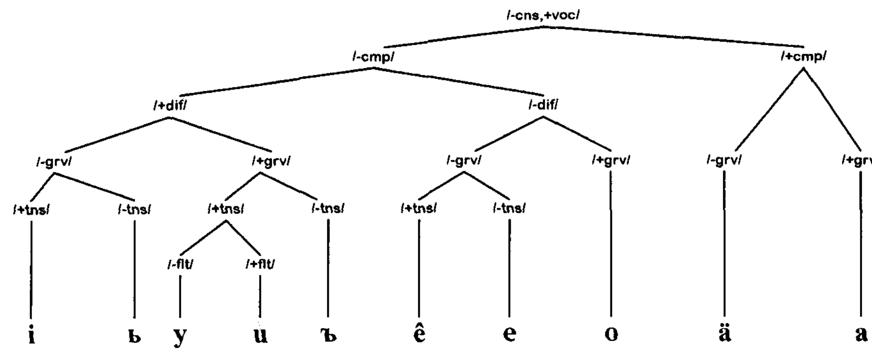

Fig. 4

The front, /–grv/ vowels *i,ê,e,ä,ь* were opposed to the back, /+grv/ vowels *y,u,o,a,ъ*. The grave vowel *y* was distinguished from the grave vowel *u* as /–flt/ vs. /+flt/, respectively. The narrower privilege of occurrence for /±flt/ reflected its ranking beneath /±grv/ in the feature hierarchy. The jer shift provided a prime opportunity for reevaluating that ranking.

In Andersen's terms this reevaluation presupposed decisions concerning rank, segmentation, and valuation. RANK refers to the recognition of distinctive features and their relative hierarchical status; SEGMENTATION, to the recognition of distinctive feature values in combination (simultaneous or sequential); and VALUATION, to the assignment of distinctive feature values to individual segments, see Andersen 1972a, 894–95; 1972b, 70; 1974a, 29ff; 1974b, 2–3. In East Slavic, the most far-reaching decisions pertained to tonality.

In proto-Ukrainian territory, two alternatives were available in the relative hierarchization of *distinctive* tonality in the vowel system: 1) superordinate gravity with limited flatting, a continuation of the Early Rusian ranking but based on a different vowel inventory, or 2) superordinate flatting with limited or

ALTERNATIVE TONALITY VOWEL SYSTEMS IN PROTO-UKRAINIAN

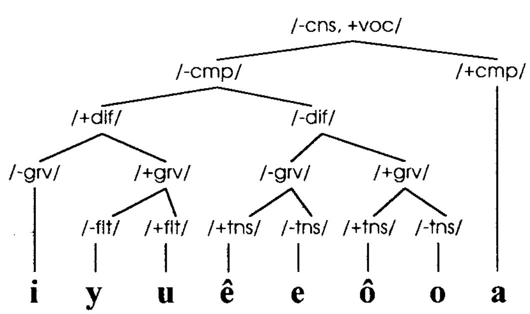

Fig. 5a. Gravity system

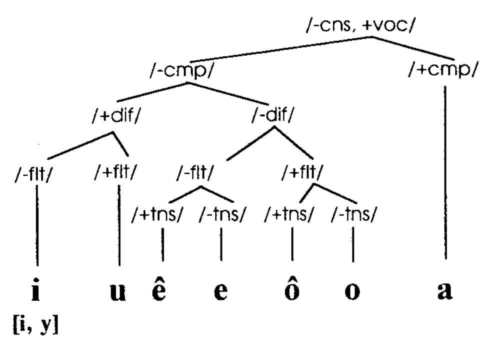

Fig. 5b. Flatting system

no distinctive gravity. The former resolution was characteristic of Southwest Ukrainian dialects, the latter of non-Southwest Ukrainian dialects, Belarusian, and Russian. The two alternatives are indicated in figs. 5a and 5b.

In the gravity system, the inherited phoneme /y/ remains distinct from /u/ as before by means of flatting (/–flt/ vs. /+flt/, respectively), and both are distinguished from /i/ by means of gravity (both /+grv/ vs. /–grv/, respectively). In the flatting system, gravity typically bears the same value as flatting for noncompact vowels: *i,ê,e* were all /–flt/ and redundantly [–grv], *u,ô,o* were all /+flt/ and redundantly [+grv]. The phoneme /a/, distinctively /+cmp/, was redundantly [–flt] and [+grv]. The nonflat vowel *i,* however, had a [+grv] allophone [y] in the environment after nonsharp consonants; otherwise *i* was redundantly [–grv].

According to this analysis, proto-Ukrainian territory was bifurcated by a duplex phonological isogloss reflecting two logically alternative analyses of the new vowel system, superordinate gravity or flatting. The traditionally more archaic Southwest dialects opted for the former; the non-Southwest dialects, the latter (see *AUM*, v. 2, maps 1, 2, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22). Over time and especially after the late fifteenth–early sixteenth century, many of the southwestern dialects north and east of the Carpathians lost the independent phoneme *y*, which tended to be identified with the vowel *ÿ* < **i* (see Shevlov 1979, 422ff, 656ff). Many of the dialect vowel systems were later reinterpreted with the loss of protensity as a distinctive feature. The earlier bifurcation, however, influenced the development of morphological change.

GENITIVE PLURAL OF THIRD-DECLENSION NOUNS

The reflexes of strong tense jers [y̌,ǐ] in Early Rusian (ER) are heterogeneous in later East Slavic dialects (Pšeničnova 1960, 1964; Flier 1988). In Ukrainian and Belarusian they were identified with /y,i/, and in Russian with /o,e/, thus ER *slěpъjь* 'blind' (adj./nom.sg.masc.long), *čьjь*; 'whose' (pron. adj./nom.sg.masc.), U *sl'ipÿj, čÿj;* Br *sl'epi, čij* (сляпы, чый); R *sl'epoj, čej.*[2] Ukrainian and Belarusian have exceptions to this set of correspondences, one of which is the original third-declension (historical i-stem) genitive plural desinence. Modern Ukrainian, Belarusian, and most of their dialects have {ej} instead of the phonologically expected morphemes {ÿj} and {ij}, respectively, from Early Rusian {ьjь}, e.g., U *hostéj* 'guests', *nočéj* 'nights', *l'udéj* 'people'; Br *hosčéj, nočéj, l'uʒ'éj* (гасцей, начэй, людзей). Most Southwest Ukrainian dialects (SWU), however, have preserved the phonologically regular desinence {ÿj}, e.g., *hostÿj, nočÿj, l'udÿj* (see *AUM* 2: maps 197–198). This desinence is also found in contiguous western Ukrainian dialects and in scattered Podolian dialects (see *AUM* 1: map 221).

From the data mapped in the atlas, the desinence {ÿj} appears to be characteristic of SWU, and {ej} of the non-SWU dialects. A preliminary assessment of the complementary distribution of the two desinences, {ÿj} and {ej}, and two major areas of dialect geography, Southwest and non-Southwest Ukrainian, might lead us to classify this isogloss as a simple one, a reflection of morphophonemic A/∅, with the innovation {ej} as A, and the archaism {ÿj} as ∅. This is implicit in Shevelov's evaluation of the distribution as being simply a matter of "dialect preference" (1979, 279–80). But a simple binary choice would have afforded any dialect of Ukrainian (or Belarusian for that matter) the same opportunity for "preferring" one desinence over the other. Thus the neat {ÿj}/{ej} isogloss split may not be as simple as it seems.[3]

In Flier 1987, I proposed that retention of the desinence {ÿj} was motivated in the SWU morphophonemic component, but not in its non-SWU counterpart. SWU morphophonemics reflected the fact that in preserving a vowel system with higher ranking gravity, the SWU dialects had originally kept ER *y* and *i* as distinct phonemes after the jer shift, ultimately realized as *y* and *ÿ*. The non-SWU dialects, which had assessed flatting to be more highly ranked, had merged ER *y* and *i* into *i*, ultimately *ÿ*.[4] The difference in vowel inventory was important for inflectional morphology.

The ER desinence-initial vowel alternations of the so-called hard and soft paradigms included *y* ~ *i* (adj./dat.pl.masc.long: *dobr-ymъ* vs. *siń-imъ*), *y* ~ *ê* (noun/gen.sg.fem.: *sosn-y* vs. *duš-ê*), and *ê* ~ *i* (pronoun/ inst.sg.masc.-neut.: *t-êmь* vs. *j-imь*). The development of these three alternations in SWU, non-SWU, Belarusian, and Russian is charted in figure 6.

HARD ~ SOFT DESINENCE VOWEL ALTERNATIONS IN EAST SLAVIC: y, i, ê

ER	*y* ~ *i*	*y* ~ *ê*	*ê* ~ *i*	I: post U *i* > *ÿ*, *ê* > *i*)			II: post morphological unification		
SWU	*y* ~ *i*	*y* ~ *ê*	*ê* ~ *i*	*y* ~ *ÿ*	*y* ~ *i*	*i* ~ *ÿ*	*y* ~ *ÿ*	*y* ~ *i*	*i* ~ *ÿ*
Non-SWU	*i*	*i* ~ *ê*	*ê* ~ *i*	*ÿ*	*ÿ* ~ *i*	*i* ~ *ÿ*	*ÿ* ~ *i*	*ÿ* ~ *i*	*i*
Br, R	*i*	*i* ~ *ê*	*ê* ~ *i*	*i*	*i* ~ *ê*	*ê* ~ *i*	*i*	*i*	*ê (e)*

Fig. 6

In Belarusian, Russian, and non-SWU, Early Rusian *y* and *i* were merged, reinterpreted as the phoneme *i* after the jer shift. In the majority of Ukrainian dialects (save certain Polesian dialects), *i* was typically lowered and fronted to *ÿ* as *ê* was raised to *i*. SWU could maintain three distinct alternations, whereas the rest of East Slavic could not because of the merger of *i* and *y*. Later morphological unification of desinences in most dialects and the standard

languages further reduced the scope of desinence alternation. What is important to note in fig. 6 is that SWU *ÿ* is an index of soft paradigms in alternation. Because the third declension was identified as soft on the basis of stem-final consonant (sharp dental and labial consonants, and historically sharp palatals), desinences beginning with *ÿ* remained motivated and genitive plural desinence {ÿj} was preserved. In non-SWU dialects desinence-initial *ÿ* was not unique to soft paradigms, since it derived from both *y* (hard-stems) and *i* (soft stems). In fact, the vowel *ÿ* was generalized as a marker of hard stems in alternation with *i* for soft stems. Under these conditions {ÿj} was susceptible to replacement, in most cases by {ej}, the appropriate overt mid-vowel + glide "soft" counterpart to {ôv}.

Because we are concerned here with morphophonemic change, the implicational relationship between phonological innovation (flatting reranked higher than gravity) and morphophonemic innovation ({ÿj} > {ej}) clearly finds no direct correlation in Andersen's typology, which is based on *phonological* innovation alone. It is rather the call to look past superficial presence versus absence to see deeper causal connections that provides the relevant link. A seemingly simple binary choice between archaism and innovation in Ukrainian nominal morphology was apparently influenced by the distinct inventories of dialect vowel systems, themselves dependent upon the recognition of simultaneous gravity and flatting (segmentation) and a bifurcating assessment of hierarchical distinctiveness (rank).

VOWEL ANAPTYXIS IN FINAL SONORANT CLUSTERS

After the jer shift all East Slavic dialects had to deal with new combinations of consonantal sequences. In the case of word-final clusters ending in sonorants, the phonological components of proto-Ukrainian, proto-Belarusian, and proto-Russian permitted variation in terms of syllabicity (Flier 1990, 130ff.; 1993, 252ff.). The syllabic option resulted in the phonetic realization of the sonorant as a segmental diphthong, consisting of a nonconsonantal (vocalic) phase followed by a consonantal phase, thus [C⌜əR⌝].[5] The tonality of the vocalic phase was dependent on the tonality (primary and secondary) of the sonorant, so that on a gradient scale, high tonality *l* and *n* yielded a vocalic phase of higher tonality, [ə^{3}], than low tonality *v* and *m*, [ə^{1}] (the greater the superscript number, the higher the tonality).[6] East Slavic phonotactics implied that the tonality of the vocalic phase had an effect on the secondary tonality (sharping) of the preceding consonant, sharper before [ə^{3}] than before [ə^{1}] (cf. Jakobson 1929/1962, 71ff). Over time it became possible for speakers to perceive phonetic sequences like [C⌜əR⌝] as manifestations of /CVR/ rather than /CR/. This reassessment was not based on a single binary choice but on a set of choices involving segmentation and ranking. Speakers confronted with phonetic sequences like [C^{1}⌜ə^{1}R⌝] and [C^{3}⌜ə^{3}R⌝], with variation in high tonality, interpreted the high tonality as distinct

or not (a matter of ranking) and if so, assigned it fundamentally to the vowel or to the preceding consonant (a matter of segmentation).
In East Slavic the following phonological reanalyses obtained:

DEVELOPMENT OF FINAL SONORANT CLUSTERS IN EAST SLAVIC

Cluster-final sonorant	*Phonetic output*	*Phonological reinterpretation*
1) nonsharp labial	[C $^{\ulcorner}$ə v$^{\urcorner}$]	*Cv* > *Cov* (R,Br,U)
2) nonsharp dental	[C^{1} $^{\ulcorner}$ə^{1}n$^{\urcorner}$]	*Cn* > *C'on* (R,Br) vs. *Cen* (U)
3) sharp labial	[C^{2} $^{\ulcorner}$ə^{2}m'$^{\urcorner}$]	*Cm'* > *C'em(')* (R,Br) vs. *Cem* (U)
4) sharp dental	[C^{3} $^{\ulcorner}$ə^{3}n'$^{\urcorner}$]	*Cn'* > *C'en'* (R,Br) vs. *Cen'* (U)

Fig. 7

In each case the higher the degree of tonality, the greater the likelihood that segmentation might assign phonemic sharping to the preceding consonant, whereas the vowel was reinterpreted as flat or nonflat, depending on the operation of the E > O change. If phonemic sharping was not assigned to the preceding consonant, as in the Ukrainian situation, the high tonality was assigned to the vowel as /–flt/ or /–grv/, thus *e*.

There is one major exception to this distribution in East Slavic: if the consonant before a sharp sonorant belonged to the natural class of velars, the velar could not be reidentified as *phonemically* sharp, in accordance with early Slavic constraints on high tonality velars in most dialects. But it is equally true that the high tonality could not be assigned to the vowel, yielding *e*, since phonotactics in the Late Rusian period after the jer shift generally precluded the sequence of velars plus *e* or *ê*.[7] The high tonality was not recognized and the vowel was identified as *o*, e.g., U *vohon'*, Br *ahon'*, R *ogon'* 'fire'.

Nonetheless, there are dialects in SWU that show a different result when the sharp sonorant was preceded by a velar consonant. The high tonality was recognized in the vowel as *e* or its later reflexes, e.g., Bojko, Lemko, Transcarpathian dialect *(v)ohen', (v)ohên', vohŷn'* (*AUM* 2: map 62; *AGB* 7: map 472 and commentary). One could claim that since the regular pattern for sharp sonorants not preceded by velars was to identify the vowel as *e*, SWU was merely generalizing the nonvelar pattern. To label the isogloss with *e* and *o* as a simple one (the result of a binary choice) is problematic, however, since all dialects theoretically would have had access to the same simple choice. If this were so, we would expect a much less well-defined group of dialects with *e*.

The crucial factor that favored the development of *e* was the presence of the gravity system in SWU at the time anaptyxis was in force. In accordance with

SWU phonotactics, the redundantly [–sharp] velars permitted only [+grv] vowels to follow, in the gravity system phonemically /+grv/. Flatting, as a subphonemic feature, was susceptible to positional variation according to the tonality of the sonorant, thus [K⌜ə^{1}n⌝] ([+flt]) vs. [K⌜ə^{3}n'⌝] ([–flt]).[8] The subphonemic distinction, not possible in non-SWU dialects in which flatting was phonemic, created the conditions for the possible reinterpretation of [+flt] ~ [–flt] as /+grv/ : /–grv/, underlying the vowels *o* and *e*, respectively. The sequences *Kon* /+grv/ and *Ken'* /–grv/ (cf. SWU *bahón* [gen.pl. of *bahno*] 'mud, sludge' and *(v)ohén'*) became possible with the development of greater tolerance for velars before nongrave vowels as seen from the mid-fourteenth century on with the fronting of Middle Ukrainian *ô* to *ů* to *ü*, e.g., MiU *küst'* > U *kist'* 'bone'.

THE JER SHIFT AND VOICING SANDHI

In a number of related studies, Henning Andersen (1966, 1969a, 1969b, 1969c, 1969d, 1986) has provided considerable historical evidence that the distinction between Common Slavic *tenues* (voiceless, tense *p,t,k,s,* etc., hereafter T) and *mediae* (voiced, lax *b,d,g,z,* etc., hereafter M) was implemented through the phonemic opposition based on protensity, /±tns/, with voicing as a redundant feature: /+tns/ implied [–vcd], [–tns] implied [+vcd]. The voicing sandhi inherited from Indo-European determined that in obstruent clusters only tenuis was admitted before tenuis (thus TT) and media before media (thus MM), the very system preserved in Early Rusian, e.g., *mostъ* [st] 'bridge', *jêzdъ* [zd] 'way, road; drive', *voskъ* [sk] 'wax', *mozgъ* [zg] 'brain'. In Early Rusian, the infinitive of the stem {vez} 'carry (by vehicle)', whether analyzed as {vez-ti} or {ve-sti}, was realized only as [v'es't'i], with the TT cluster, hence the consistent spelling вести.

After the jer shift new clusters of TM and MT arose and occasioned an evaluation of the inherited constraints. Some dialects preserved them by transferring the T:M opposition from phonemic protensity to phonemic voicing with a concomitant reassignment of redundancy to the former: /+vcd/ implied [–tns], /–vcd/ implied [+tns]. Obstruent clusters remained a locus of neutralization for the opposition. The sequence TM was ultimately realized as MM (voiced + voiced, e.g., R *tat'ba* [d'b] 'thievery, robbery' [obs.]) and MT as TT (voiceless + voiceless, e.g., R *ložka* [šk] 'spoon'). The unmarked member /–vcd/ represented the opposition before a word and phrase boundaries, two other environments of neutralization, e.g., R *dub* [p] 'oak', *god* [t] 'year', *rog* [k] 'horn'. Certain boundary phenomena aside, a voicing system is characteristic of Modern Russian and most Russian dialects, Modern Belarusian and North Belarusian dialects, and Southwest Ukrainian. Save a few exceptions irrelevant for the current discussion,[9] the remaining Ukrainian, Belarusian, and some North Russian dialects continued to analyze protensity as phonemic, and constrained the number of environments of neutralization, at least for a while. As before, the

sequence TM was realized as MM (nontense + nontense, e.g., U *pros'ba* [z'b] 'request', cf. *r'iz'ba* [z'b] 'carving' [wood]), but MT was tolerated, thus contrasting distinctively with TT (MT, nontense + tense, e.g., U *dužka* [žk] 'handle' vs. TT, tense + tense, e.g., U *duška* [šk] 'soul' [dim.]). There was no neutralization of protensity before a word boundary (M#, nontense, e.g., U *d'id* [d] 'grandfather] vs. T#, tense, e.g., U *kit* [t] 'tomcat'.

The bifurcating analyses of the T:M opposition in East Slavic—distinctive voicing or distinctive protensity—have shown a historical tendency to develop towards the former in many East Slavic dialects. In a study devoted to voicing sandhi in East and West Slavic, Andersen (1986) presented a typology of obstruent voicing properties across boundaries of varying strength[10] before non-obstruents (types A,B,C) and before obstruents (types 0,1,2) in Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian. The typology is presented in figure 8:

TYPOLOGY OF VOICING SANDHI IN EAST SLAVIC
(based on Andersen 1986)

Before non-obstruent	*Neutralization properties*	*Before obstruent*	*Neutralization properties*
Type A	none	Type 0	none
Type B	M	Type 1	TM → MM
Type C	T	Type 2	TM → MM MT → TT M# → T

Fig. 8

He was able to identify two areal patterns in East Slavic with a gradation of subtypes in each: a northern pattern (most Russian and northern Belarusian dialects) and a southern pattern (southern Belarusian, and Ukrainian dialects). The former shows the marks of a phonemic voicing system with neutralization before all obstruents (type 2), whereas the latter presents evidence of phonemic protensity, or traces of it, with no neutralization (type 0), partial neutralization (type 1, TM → MM), and complete neutralization (type 2, TM→ MM, MT → TT).

The southern pattern shows a major isogloss distinguishing dialects in zone I (type 0 and 1 obstruent neutralization—Modern Ukrainian, most eastern Ukrainian dialects, southern Belarusian) and dialects in zone II (type 2 neutralization: most western Ukrainian dialects, including western Polesian, Volhynian, Dniester, Podolian, Bukovyna, and Southwest Ukrainian dialects). For our purposes it is sufficient to note that across suffix boundaries the permissible obstruent clusters in zone I are MM, TT, and MT, but in zone II, only MM and TT.

Andersen's typology suggests that within zone II, the southwestern dialects (zone IIb) are more advanced in the development towards a voicing system than the dialects to the east (zone IIa), transitional to Zone I. Phrase-final M and T are neutralized to T in zone IIb (*kit* [t], *d'id* [t]), but not in zone IIa (*kit* [t], *d'id* [d]). This characterization is borne out by the scant written evidence available. The earliest indications of type 2 neutralization with MT rendered as TT date from the fourteenth century in Galicia (see Shevelov 1979, 338). The farther east one proceeds from the phonemic voicing pattern of the southwestern dialects, the more one encounters sandhi evidence of current or former phonemic protensity. From an historical perspective, one can assume that proto-Ukrainian had a phonemic protensity system that developed towards a voicing system earliest in Southwest Ukrainian (zone IIb), is changing from a protensity to a voicing system farther east (zone IIa), but is maintained as a protensity system in the eastern dialects and Modern Ukrainian (zone I); cf. Andersen 1986, 238–39.[11] The division of Ukrainian into Zones I and II, and the further division of the latter into IIa and IIb turns out to be important for morphological innovation.

VELAR INFINITIVE

In Modern Ukrainian and most Ukrainian dialects, infinitives based on unsuffixed velar stems[12] show stem and suffix innovation in comparison with the corresponding Early Rusian forms, e.g., U *pektÿ, strÿhtÿ* vs. ER *peči (peku, pečeši)* 'bake', *striči (strigu, strižeši)* 'cut, clip'. The stem-final velar was reintroduced—{pe-} > {pek-}, {strÿ-} > {strÿh-}—and the older suffix {čÿ} was replaced by {tÿ}. Stem innovation always preceded suffix innovation: *pe-čÿ* > *pek-čÿ* > *pek-tÿ*, *strÿ-čÿ* > *strÿh-čÿ* > *strÿh-tÿ* (Flier 1978, 269–70). The typology is presented in figure 9:

UKRAINIAN VELAR INFINITIVE TYPOLOGY

Type	Late ComSl **pek-tĭ*	Late ComSl **strig-tĭ*
α	*pe-čÿ*	*strÿ-čÿ*
β-1	*pek-čÿ*	*strÿh-čÿ*
β-2	*pek-tÿ*	*strÿh-tÿ*
γ-1	———	*strÿž-čÿ*
γ-2	———	*strÿž-tÿ*

Fig. 9

Infinitives of the *strÿh-čÿ* type are first noted in texts of the late sixteenth century; those of the *strÿh-tÿ* type only in the seventeenth (Pivtorak 1974, 97–98).

There is a clear, definitive north-south isogloss that bisects Ukrainian territory, separating dialects in the east with type β-2, *pektŷ, strŷhtŷ* (stem and suffix innovation), from those in the west with type α, *pečŷ, strŷčŷ* (no innovation); see *AUM* 2: map 234.[13] The *pektŷ* dialect zone is roughly coterminous with zone I (phonemic protensity), and the *pečŷ* dialect zone with zone IIa (transitional protensity/voicing) and IIb (phonemic voicing). The coincidence of velar infinitive innovation and voicing sandhi isoglosses is striking and suggests a diachronic connection.

In Flier 1978, I indicated that the Late Common Slavic infinitive from unsuffixed obstruent stems was analyzed as the product of stem truncation in the environment before the infinitive suffix (see fig. 10, analysis 1).

LATE COMMON SLAVIC OBSTRUENT-STEM INFINITIVE FORMATION

C	INF form	Analysis 1			Analysis 2		
s	[nestí]	*nes-sti*	⇒	*ne-sti*	***nes-ti***	⇒	***nes-ti***
z	[vestí]	*vez-sti*	⇒	*ve-sti*	***vez-ti***	⇒	***vez-ti***
t	[mestí]	*met-sti*	⇒	*me-sti*	*met-sti*	⇒	*me-sti*
d	[vestí]	*ved-sti*	⇒	*ve-sti*	*ved-sti*	⇒	*ve-sti*
p	[tetí]	*tep-ti*	⇒	*te-ti*	*tep-ti*	⇒	*te-ti*
b	[gretí]	*greb-ti*	⇒	*gre-ti*	*greb-ti*	⇒	*gre-ti*
k	[pečí]*	*pek-či*	⇒	*pe-či*	*pek-či*	⇒	*pe-či*
g	[stríči]*	*strig-či*	⇒	*stri-či*	*strig-či*	⇒	*stri-či*

*eastern dialects

Fig. 10

Given the inherent ambiguity of infinitives based on stems in *s* and *z*, however, it was possible to reinterpret the infinitives according to an analysis that preserved the stem-final obstruent and used a different infinitive suffix, {ti} insted of {sti} (see fig. 10, analysis 2). Analysis 2 would not be revealed directly as long as the properties of Indo-European sandhi were preserved, however. Because the only tolerated obstruent clusters in Early Rusian were TT and MM, the fricative infinitives would be realized identically, regardless of which analysis was operative: *ne-sti* or *nes-ti* would yield [n'es't'í] and *ve-sti* or *vez-ti*, [v'es't'í].

After the jer shift, the bifurcating analyses of the tenuis-media opposition—phonemic protensity or phonemic voicing—were consequential for the distinct analyses 1 and 2 of fricative infinitives. In a protensity system like that found in most eastern Ukrainian dialects and in Modern Ukrainian, the obstruent cluster MT was tolerated, along with TT and MM. Therefore, in analysis 1 the fricative infinitives *ne-stŷ* and *ve-stŷ* would be realized as [nestŷ] and [vestŷ], respectively, but in analysis 2, *nes-tŷ* would yield [nestŷ] and *vez-tŷ* would yield [veztŷ], the

latter rendering the new analysis overt. Once innovations like *vez-tÿ* were generalized, they became a source of analogy for other obstruent stems in the curtailment of stem truncation, including velar stems. Thus underlying lexemes *pek-čÿ* and *strÿh-čÿ* could be realized as postlexical, nontruncated *pek-čÿ* [pekčÿ] and *strÿh-čÿ* [strÿhčÿ], respectively. Later these were replaced by *pek-tÿ* and *strÿh-tÿ*, respectively.

Stem innovation in the velar infinitives thus depended on the presence of MT obstruent clusters in the protensity system, the system that permitted the overt realization of *vez-tÿ*, *hrÿz-tÿ* 'gnaw', *l'êz-tÿ* 'climb' (U l'*iztÿ*), and analogously *strÿh-čÿ* and *pek-čÿ*. The innovation might be slowed or even blocked only if the protensity system were giving way to obstruent cluster properties of voicing systems (type 2), which did not permit MT to be realized. Thus the relative chronology of the phonological change type 1 (MT) > type 2 (TT) and the innovation *ve-stÿ* > *vez-tÿ* is crucial.

If the morphological innovation preceded the phonological change, the new velar infinitives became normative. If the morphological innovation occurred contemporaneously with the phonological change, results of the former could be moderated or cancelled. If the phonological change preceded the morphological innovation, the new velar stems were precluded from developing. These three chronologies are presented in figure 11.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF VELAR INFINITIVE INNOVATION AND CHANGES IN OBSTRUENT CLUSTER VOICING SANDHI

Type	*Relative chronology*	*Effect on velar infinitive innovation*
α	1 *vez-tÿ* 2 MT > TT	*vez-tÿ* serves as model for *stryh-čÿ*
β	*vez-tÿ* & MT > TT	velar infinitive innovation moderated or blocked
γ	1 MT > TT 2 * *vez-tÿ*	velar infinitive innovation blocked

Fig. 11

This historical scenario is borne out by the velar infinitive isoglosses found in Ukrainian. The zone I dialects of eastern Ukrainian (phonemic protensity, no MT > TT) represent velar infinitive type β-2 (*pek-tÿ, strÿh-tÿ*), the zone IIb dialects of Southwest Ukrainian and western Ukrainian (phonemic voicing, MT > TT) represent velar infinitive type α (*pe-čÿ, strÿ-čÿ*). The zone IIa dialects of western Ukrainian (phonemic protensity in transition to phonemic voicing, MT > TT) represent velar infinitive types α, β-1, β-2, γ-1, γ-2, with mixed subtypes of innovation: *strÿčÿ, strÿh-čÿ* [xč], *strÿh-tÿ* [xt], *strÿž-čÿ* [šč], *strÿž-tÿ* [št], and *pe-čÿ, pek-čÿ* (rare), *pek-tÿ*. On those rare occasions when generational difference

is noted in the dialect materials for the mixed zone, the infinitives *strÿh-tÿ* and *strÿh-čÿ* are labeled "mid and younger generation" or "younger generation" in opposition to *strÿž-čÿ* "older generation" (*AUM* 2:52). In Flier 1978, I accounted for the motivation behind these different innovations as well as the tendency for {strÿh} to curtail truncation and thus reintroduce the velar earlier than {pek}. What commands attention here is that the nonparallel development of the nontense and tense velar infinitives, {strÿh-} or {strÿž-} but {pe-}, has been arrested in the transitional zone in which phonemic protensity is giving way to phonemic voicing. It is phonological reranking and consequent phonetic change that has affected the course of morphophonemic innovation.

CONCLUSION

We have reviewed data from two isoglosses that distinguish conservative and innovative dialects. Both isoglosses are represented in separate parts of the Ukrainian dialect atlas and would customarily be regarded as simple isoglosses, ± innovation. Further examination, however, has shown that alternative ranking—gravity system or flatting system, protensity system or voicing system—has had an effect on the likelihood of later innovations being realized and the character of the changes introduced. The preservation of the archaic genitive plural desinence {ÿj} and the development of anaptyctic *e* instead of *o* in final velar + sonorant clusters are dependent on the original presence of the gravity vowel system, the product of a bifurcation in tonality ranking dating from the time of the jer shift. Analogously, the development of nontruncating velar infinitives is apparently dependent on whether the voicing sandhi characteristic of obstruent clusters in systems with phonemic protensity is present. These implicational relationships are not mentioned in the handbooks or the historical grammars, but once articulated, they help to clarify the historical development of Ukrainian and demonstrate the broad potential of the dialect atlases in the study of Ukrainian historical dialectology.

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NOTES

1. Acoustic features enclosed in virgules (/ /) are considered phonemic, whereas those enclosed in square brackets ([ ]) are considered subphonemic (nondistinctive). The abbreviations used for the features are cmp = compact, cns = consonantal, cnt = continuous, dif = diffuse, flt = flatted, grv = grave, nas = nasal, shp = sharped, str = strident, tns = tense, voc = vocalic, vcd = voiced. Individual phonemes are given in italics. NR = North Russian, SWU = Southwest Ukrainian.

Single morphemes are presented in braces { }. Morphological representations are otherwise given in italics. Internal morphological boundaries are symbolized by a hyphen - ; word boundaries, by the crosshatch #. Underlying morphological representations are subject to morphophonemic rules that yield a postlexical representation subject to phonological rules. The operation of morphophonemic rules is symbolized with a double arrow ⇒, e.g., Early Rusian infinitive *greb-ti* ⇒ *greti* (the underlying representation *greb-ti* is realized postlexically as *greti*).

2. The characteristic Ukrainian high-mid front vowel reflex of merged ER *i,y* is rendered as *ÿ*.

3. The instances of {ÿj} outside the Southwest Ukrainian dialects may be attributed to southwestern influence or to phonologically conditioned variation (Žylko 1964, 8; *AUM* 1:ix; Flier 1987, 53 n. 3).

4. The difference in ranking reflects a purely perceptual distinction; there is no reason to believe that the actual phonetic realization of the two vowels *i* and *y* throughout East Slavic immediately after the jer shift was other than identical. When the community continued the older perception, however, there were consequences for the development of the vocalic pattern as a whole. The vowel *y* as /+grv/ patterned with *u* rather than *i*, distinguished from it primarily by its marking as /–flt/. Such patterning made it possible for *y* to be completely disengaged from *i*. In some SWU dialects *y* was perceived as /–dif, +grv/ and ultimately flatted to [y°] or even more retracted [y°˃] (Žylko 1966, 204, 208, 213, 220, 226; Shevelov 1979, 666).

5. C = consonant, R = sonorant, ᵊ = vocalic phase of the segmental diphthong, ⌜ ⌝ enclose the initial and final phases of a segmental diphthong.

6. The degrees of high tonality indicated by superscript are purely conventional, a means of presenting gradience for comparative purposes.

7. The well-known exceptions, morphologically or lexically specified, are discussed in Flier 1993, 264 n. 13.

8. K = velar.

9. See Andersen 1986 for more details and references.

10. The boundaries, in ascending degree of strength, are suffix boundary (-bdy) ≤ proclitic boundary (pro) ≤ enclitic boundary (enc) ≤ word boundary (wrd) ≤ phrase boundary (phr).

11. Early written evidence from the western areas is rare and inconclusive, given the difficulty of determining the source of specific forms, other texts, or the scribes themselves. Tymošenko (1971) offers data from sixteenth-century descriptions of western and northern Ukrainian castles outside the southwestern zone (Čerkasy, Kaniv, Kyiv, Oster, Čornobyl′, Ovruč, Žytomyr, Vinnycja, Braclav, Krem'janec′, Luc′k, Volodymyr-Volyns′kyj, and Mozyr), but local characteristucs may have influenced the scribe's rendition, which seems to show Ukrainian as well as Belarusian tendencies.

12. The term VELAR STEM denotes any unsuffixed stem ending in *k* or *h*, the latter being the pharyngeal or laryngeal reflex of the Late Common Slavic velar stop **g*.

13. The north-south isogloss runs from western Belarusian dialects to the west of Pinsk, then in a southwesterly direction west of Kovel′ to Volodymyr-Volyn′s′kyj, then in a southeasterly direction to the east of Ternopil′ to the west and south of Xmel′nyc′kyj, finally looping around Kam'janec′-Podil′s′kyj to the west and then southward towards the Prut River.

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AUM=*Atlas ukrajins'koji movy* 1: *Polissja, Serednja Naddniprjanščyna i sumižni zemli*; 2: *Volyn', Naddnistrjanščyna, Zakarpattja i sumižni zemli.* Comp. I. H. Matvijas et al. Kyiv, 1984–88.

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The Ukrainian Fourth Declension

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0. There is no doubt that "[f]rom a theoretical point of view, one and the same set of language data can be organized in different ways depending on the point of view of the investigation," as Kovalyk put it in the Ukrainian Academy Grammar (Bilodid 1969:81). Like any other utterance in a language, a grammatical description is a speech act of a sort, in which the content of the description is dictated not simply by the character of the data to be described and the theory of language in light of which these data are interpreted, but also by what the grammarian presupposes to be known by his prospective addressees and by the extent and the way he wishes to modify the addressees' prior understanding. Accordingly, as Kovalyk observed, the investigator of Ukrainian morphology will choose different approaches for diachronic purposes and for typological and purely synchronic purposes. At the same time, though, a scholarly classification of the types of inflection should satisfy the practical needs of both research and the schools (ibid.).

But in the study of the morphology of the Ukrainian noun, early attempts to capture the complex synchronic relationships between gender and declension class, such as those by Simovyč (1919) and Synjavs'kyj (1941) did not lead to the development of alternative descriptions corresponding to different theoretical purposes. Instead, the grammatical tradition canonized a diachronically based classification of nouns into four declensions (corresponding to Common Slavic a-stems, o- and u-stems, i-stems, and consonant stems), which has long been regarded as traditional (cf. Matvijas 1974:42) and has come to be universally applied—in synchronic descriptions (e.g., Žovtobrjux 1984, Rusanovskij 1986), typological studies (e.g., Popova 1987), and diachronic investigations (e.g., Samijlenko 1978), as well as in school grammars (e.g., Dolenko et al. 1987:143–55)—suggesting that perhaps the practical need for continuity in the transmission of grammatical doctrine in the schools has outweighed other considerations.

The aim of this little study is to show that the traditional classification of Ukrainian substantives into four declensions errs both by separating parts of the linguistic system that belong together and by presenting together elements that should be kept apart. The title promises a discussion of "the Ukrainian fourth declension." This follows below (sections 4–5), but it is necessary to begin by examining the First, Second, and Third Declensions (sections 1–3). This will provide an opportunity to clarify informally some principles of description I assume to be fairly uncontroversial and, at the same time, will serve to highlight some of the basic issues in describing the morphophonemics of declension, which I will remark on in section 6.

1. In the Academy Grammar, the First Declension is illustrated with the following nouns:[1] (1a) *rik–á, sestr–á,* (1b) *prác'–a, nad'íj–a, krúč–a, hrúš–a,* and (1c) *bab-ýšč–e* (Bilodid 1969:85ff.). Leaving the plural aside for the moment (see section 5), these nouns present the following sets of singular case desinences:[2]

(1a-c)

	(1a)	(1b)	(1c)
NS	*–a*	*–a*	*–e*
AS	*–u*	*–u*	*–e*
GS	*–y*	*–i*	*–i*
LS	*–i*	*–i*	*–i*
DS	*–i*	*–i*	*–i*
IS	*–oju*	*–eju*	*–eju*

Note the following instances of phonologically conditioned allomorphy.

(i) In the genitive, the allomorph *–i* in (1b) and (1c) is a secondary (derived) representation of the primary (underlying, basic) *–y* in (1a), conditioned by any stem-final sharped or palatal consonant.

(ii) Similarly in the instrumental, the allomorph *–eju* in (1b) and (1c) is a secondary representation of *–oju* in (1a), conditioned by any stem-final sharped or palatal consonant.

(iii) In the nominative and accusative of paradigm (1c), the *–e* can be viewed as a secondary representation of *–a,* respectively *–u* in (1a), conditioned by the suffix *-yšč–.*

(iv) But in view of the final palatal consonant of this suffix, the *–e* in (1c) can also be viewed as a tertiary representation, a phonologically conditioned representation of *–o* (representing *–a,* respectively *–u*), just as the desinence-initial /e/ in the instrumental desinence under (ii).

I will not dwell on matters of stem allomorphy, but will merely mention that the *–i* of the locative and dative requires that a stem-final /k/ be represented by /c'/, /h/ by /z'/, and /x/ by /s'/, and that any stem-final plain paired consonant be represented by its sharped counterpart.

Not a part of the description of the First Declension as such is the fact that stem-final sharped consonants are represented by plain consonants before the desinence initial /e/ of the instrumental; this is the result of a phonological constraint.[3]

The statements in (i) – (iv) enable us to reduce the three paradigms to a single set of primary desinences, identical to those in (1a). It is interesting to note that the morphophonemic rules in (i) and (iii) generate derived paradigms with four (1b), respectively three (1c) desinences from one with five desinences (1a).

One can wonder whether it is legitimate to consider these somewhat different paradigm variants of one and the same basic paradigm. For the answer to this question it seems important that rule (i) involves perfectly general phonological conditioning, whereas the conditioning in rule (iii) is a single (derivational) morpheme. We will return to this question below (see section 3).

2. The Academy Grammar exemplifies the Second Declension with the following substantives: (2a) *stíl–∅*, (2b) *kráj–∅*, (2c) *inženér–∅*, (2d) *skrypál'–∅*, *kobzár–∅*, *čytáč–∅*, *školár–∅*, (2e) *bát'k–o*, (2f) *remesl–ó*, (2g) *pól'–e* [-le], *prízvyšč–e*, (2h) *znan-j–á* [-n'n'á] (Bilodid 1969:93ff.). They present the following sets of singular desinences:

	(2a)	(2b)	(2c)	(2d)	(2e)	(2f)	(2g)	(2h)
NS	*-∅*	*-∅*	*-∅*	*-∅*	*-o*	*-o*	*-e*	*-a*
AS	*-∅*	*-∅*	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-o*	*-e*	*-a*
GS	*-a/-u*	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*
LS	*-i/-ú*	*-u/-i*	*-ovi/-u/-i-*	*-evi/-u/-i*	*-ovi/-u/-i*	*-i*	*-i/-u*	*-i*
DS	*-ovi/-u*	*-evi/-u*	*-ovi/-u*	*-evi/-u*	*-ovi/-u*	*-u*	*-u*	*-u*
IS	*-om*	*-em*	*-om*	*-em*	*-om*	*-om*	*-em*	*–am*

Note the following instances of phonologically conditioned allomorphy.

(i) In the nominative, accusative, and instrumental, desinence-initial /a/ in paradigm (2h) is a secondary representation of the /o/ of the primary desinences, conditioned by any stem-final cluster of consonant + /j/.[4] Note that this derived representation generates a paradigm with one desinence fewer than the basic paradigm.

(ii) In the nominative, accusative, locative, dative, and instrumental, desinence-initial /e/ in paradigms (2b), (2d), and (2g) is a secondary representation of basic /o/, conditioned by any stem-final sharped or palatal consonant.

(iii) In the nominative, the desinence *–o* in (2e–h) is conditioned by certain masculine stems—in many of them, specifically by a stem-final derivational suffix—and by all neuter stems; otherwise the nominative desinence is *–∅*.

There is extensive additional desinence allomorphy, which must be noted case by case, and can barely be summarized here. In the accusative, animate masculine stems (which include some names of games and dances) select the genitive desinence, whereas inanimate masculine and all neuter stems select the nominative desinence. In the genitive, certain masculines take *–u* depending on a complex of conditioning features, stylistic (e.g., non-bookish), lexico-semantic (e.g., names of institutions), grammatical (e.g., non-count-nouns), accentual (e.g., stem stress), and phonotactic (e.g., monosyllabic stems); other masculines and all neuters take *–a* (cf. Jaščun 1991). In the locative, *–ovi* is the preferred desinence for animate stems, whether masculine or neuter; *–u* is preferred for masculines or neuters governed by the preposition *po*, for masculine stems ending in a velar consonant, and for monosyllabic masculines with an *–u* genitive; *–i* is the "elsewhere" desinence; but there is considerable variation conditioned by a variety of stylistic, including phonostylistic factors, as well as free variation (cf. Solohub 1975). In the dative, *–ovi* is the preferred desinence for animate stems, whether masculine or neuter, and *–u* for inanimate stems,

masculine or neuter, with additional stylistic, including phonostylistic factors being relevant. Note that the interaction of these selection rules produces derived paradigms with fewer desinences than the basic paradigm (e.g., with *–u* for both GS and LS or *–ovi* for both LS and DS).

There is also extensive stem allomorphy: neo-apophony (alternations of /o/ or /e/ with zero and of /i/ with /o/ or /e/) conditioned by vowel-initial vs. other desinences, and the same alternation of stem-final velars with /c′ z′ s′/ and of plain paired consonants with their sharped counterparts before the locative desinence *–i* as in the First Declension. These morphophonemic details will not detain us here.

Whereas the stylistic, phonological, grammatical, and semantic conditioning mentioned case by case above applies differently from one case to another, the statements in (i)–(iii) define the three clear relationships between the nominative (and accusative) and the instrumental desinences shown in (2i–k). Note that in (2j) and (2k) the desinence-initial vowel of the instrumental repeats that of the nominative, whereas (2i) appears to present a neo-apophonic relationship, a desinence-initial vowel (/o/~/e/) alternating with zero. We will return to these desinences below.

(2i–k)		(2i)	(2j)	(2k)
	NS	-∅	*–o ~ –e*	*–a*
	IS	*–om ~ –em*	*–om ~ –em*	*–am*

3. The Academy Grammar illustrates the Third Declension with paradigms of the substantives *níč–∅* and *t′ín′–∅*, which have identical desinences, as in (3a) (Bilodid 1969:114ff.).

(3a)		
	NS	*–∅*
	AS	*–∅*
	GS	*–i*
	LS	*–i*
	DS	*–i*
	IS	*–ju*

There is some stem allomorphy, specifically neo-apophony conditioned by vowel-initial vs. other desinences. The initial /j/ of the instrumental desinence forms clusters with stem-final consonants, which are subject to the rules mentioned in note 5. The noun *mat′ir′–∅* ([-r]; pre-vocalic stem *mater′-*) has an alternative, suppletive nominative, *máty*.

The similarity between paradigm (3a) and the paradigms of the First and Second Declensions is striking. First, the genitive, locative, and dative are identical to the derived desinences of paradigms (1b) and (1c); in fact almost all nouns of the Third Declension have stems ending in a sharped or a palatal consonant, just as the nouns of paradigms (1b) and (1c). Secondly, the *–∅* ending of the nominative (and accusative) is shared with nouns of the Second Declen-

sion. Thirdly, although the instrumental desinence *–ju* contains the final sequence of the first-declension instrumental, it stands in a similar relationship to its nominative (and accusative) as the second-declension endings in (2i); cf. (3b).

(3b)		(1a, 1b)	(1c)	(3a)
	NS	*–a*	*(–o) ~ –e*	*–∅*
	IS	*–oju ~ –eju*	*(–oju) ~ –eju*	*– ju*

It is reasonable to see in the similarity between nominative and instrumental desinences, which is mirrored in paradigm after paradigm, a reflection of the semantic similarity between these two indefinite cases and of the contrast between them and the definite cases genitive, locative, and dative.[5]

One might consider interpreting paradigm (3a) as a variant of the First Declension,[6] differing from the basic paradigm (1a) by its nominative-accusative *–∅* desinence, just as the variant paradigm (1c) differs by its nominative-accusative (*–o* →) *–e*. There are two obstacles to this.

The first of these is perhaps not very serious. It is the fact that the genitive desinence *–i* in paradigm (3a) is not always conditioned by a stem-final sharped or palatal consonant, for it occurs with stems ending in a labial consonant or glide (which are not phonemically sharped), e.g., *króv–i, l'ubóv–i, skórb–i, vérf–i.* Admittedly the number of third-declension nouns with stems ending in a labial is very small, and their failure to admit the expected genitive desinence *–y* (which in fact they still do in some varieties of Ukrainian) can easily be construed as a minor exception.[7]

The second obstacle is more serious. It is the fact that in order to integrate paradigm (3a) with the First Declension, it would be necessary to specify lexeme by lexeme which nouns select the desinences of (3a) and which, those of (1a–c). But it is precisely such lexeme by lexeme specification that constitutes declensional classes as separate. For a contrast, consider paradigm (1c), which is selected by just one genuinely exceptional derivational morpheme (*-yšč–*). Or consider the second-declension masculines with a nominative in *–o,* paradigm (2e). In the bulk of these the *–o* desinence is selected by specific derivational morphemes (e.g., the types *bat'-k–o, lýs-enk–o, vitr-ýšč–e*, and the underived nouns among them are names (*havrýl–o, dn'ipr–ó*). Even though some of the suffixes involved here are productive, and the class of names in principle open, these nouns form a more tightly defined class than do third-declension nouns, which—one or two suffixes apart (e.g., *-ost'–, -in'–*)—really have nothing in common except their declension.

Consequently, a temptation to conflate the Third and First Declensions should perhaps be resisted. But it is obvious that their similarity has been no secret to the speakers of the language: it is surely the reason behind the centuries-long, slow, but steady drift of earlier third-declension nouns into the First Declension, which is exemplified by Modern Ukrainian *bróv–a, dolón' –a,*

mýš–a, písn'–a, vóš–a (OR *brŭvĭ, dolonĭ, myšĭ, pěsnĭ, vŭšĭ*) and many others; cf. Shevelov 1991. This is an important particular, which perhaps can be taken as evidence for a basic identity, in a sense yet to be specified, of the Third and First Declensions.[8]

4. The Academy Grammar illustrates the Fourth Declension with the paradigms of (4a) *kurč–á, tel'–á* and (4b) *imj–á*. The former exemplify a single productive derivational pattern forming words for the young of animals and people and

	(4a)	(4b)
NS	*tel'- –á*	*im-j–á*
AS	*tel'- –á*	*im-j–á*
GS	*tel'-át–y*	*im-en'–i*
LS	*tel'-át'–i*	*im-en'–i*
DS	*tel'-át' –i*	*im-en'–i*
IS	*tel'- –ám*	*im-j–ám*

some diminutives; the latter illustrates a closed class numbering a handful of anomalous nouns; all nouns in these classes are neuters (Bilodid 1969:118ff.). Both classes have an alternation between a longer stem with a characteristic suffix (in (4a)) or interfix (in (4b)), which occurs also in the plural, and a shorter stem lacking this or having another affix instead. It is perhaps in this unique stem allomorphy that some grammarians see the motivation for bringing these nouns together in a separate declension class. But the stem allomorphy is really a morphophonemic matter separate from the question of desinence selection.

Both paradigms show a combination of First and Second Declension features that is very similar to that of the Third Declension (3b). First, the desinences of the genitive, locative, and dative are identical to those of paradigms (1a–c). Secondly, the desinences of the nominative (and accusative) and instrumental are identical to those of the j-suffixed second-declension neuters (paradigm (2h)).[9] Considering that both the classes of nouns (4a) and (4b) are suffixed neuters, this seems quite coherent.

If one reviews the paradigms of (3a) and (4a, 4b) together and gives due attention to the identity of the definite-case desinences (GS *–y* ~ *–i*, L-DS *–i*) and the gender-correlated distribution of indefinite-case desinences (N-AS *–Ø*, IS *–ju* with feminines, N-AS *–a*, IS *–am* with neuters), it is hard to see these paradigms as anything but variants of one and the same basic paradigm.

It appears that in this language there are just three declensions for singular substantives.

The First Declension comprises feminines and masculines; its basic paradigm has a distinct desinence for the accusative; it allows for no expression of gender distinctions, nor of animacy; it has a characteristic non-neuter instrumental in "*–Vju.*"

The Second Declension comprises masculines and neuters; it has no distinct accusative; its desinences indicate gender in several cases (e.g., the NS *–∅* occurs only with unmarked masculines, GS *–u* only with marked masculines); it expresses animacy through syncretism of the accusative in masculines and through allomorph selection in the other definite cases in both masculines and neuters; it has a characteristic non-feminine instrumental in *"–Vm."*

The Third Declension comprises feminines and neuters; it does not have a distinct accusative; it does not express animacy, but it has distinct variants for the two genders in the indefinite cases; it has the characteristic non-neuter instrumental in *"–Vju"* and non-feminine instrumental in *"–Vm";* in both instrumental desinences, the *"V"* element is identical to the nominative desinence.

There is no "fourth declension" for singular nouns.

5. But this does not necessarily mean that there is no fourth declension in Ukrainian.

Although all descriptions of Ukrainian portray each of the substantival declensions as composed of singular and plural sub-paradigms, grammarians traditionally affirm the understanding that declension is inflection for the category of case alone (cf. Bilodid 1969:81). A careful examination of the paradigms in the Academy Grammar (Bilodid 1969:89ff., 107ff., 116ff., 120ff.) reveals that there is one Plural Declension with a number of variants that present different combinations of nominative and genitive allomorphs; see (5a–e).

(5a–e)	(5a)	(5b)	(5c)	(5d)	(5e)
NP	*–y*	*–y*	*–y*	*–a*	*–a*
AP	*–y/–∅*	*–y/–iv*	*–y/–ej*	*–a/–∅*	*–a/–iv*
GP	*–∅*	*–iv*	*–ej*	*–∅*	*–iv*
LP	*–ax*	*–ax*	*–ax*	*–ax*	*–ax*
DP	*–am*	*–am*	*–am*	*–am*	*–am*
IP	*–amy*	*–amy*	*–amy*	*–amy*	*–amy*

The Plural Declension comprises substantives of all three genders as well as ungendered pluralia tantum; its paradigm has no distinct accusative; it makes a rough distinction between neuter count-nouns (mostly in *–a*) and non-neuters in the nominative (and accusative; almost all in *–y* ~ *–i*) and expresses animacy through syncretism of the accusative with the nominative or genitive; its locative, dative, and (basic) instrumental desinences have a characteristic desinence-initial vowel, /a/, by which this substantival paradigm differs from corresponding adjectival and numeral paradigms (cf. *t–ýx, t–ým, t–ýmy*; *moj–íx, moj–ím, moj–ímy*; *dv–óx, dv–óm, dv–omá*).

With count nouns, the variant paradigms in (5a–e) are selected by rule.

First-declension nouns select variant (5a) (e.g., *r ík–y, r ík–∅*), unless they are marked for variant (5b) (e.g., *bab–ý, bab–ív*) or variant (5c) (e.g., *mýš–i, mýš–ej*).

Masculine second-declension nouns select variant (5b) unless they are marked for variant (5a) (e.g., *sel'-án–y, sel'-án–∅; čobót–y, čobit–∅*), variant (5c) (e.g., *kón'–i, kón'–ej* [-ne-]), or variant (5e) (*rukáv–a, rukav–ív*).

Neuter second-declension nouns select variant (5d) unless marked for variant (5a) (e.g., *pléč–i, plíč–∅*), variant (5c) (e.g., *óč–i, oč–éj*), or variant (5e) (e.g., *mor'–á, mor'– ív, pry-slív-j–a, pry-slív-j–iv*).

Feminine third-declension nouns select variant (5c) (e.g., *nóč–i, noč–éj*) unless marked for variant (5b) (thus *máter'–i, mater'–ív*).

Neuter third-declension nouns select variant (5d) (e.g., *tel'-át–a, tel'-át–∅; im-en–á, im-én–∅*).

For pluralia tantum, the paradigm variants must be specified lexeme by lexeme: some select variant (5a) (e.g., *nóžyc'–i, nóžyc'–∅*), some (5b) (e.g., *okul'ár-y, okul'ár-iv*), some (5c) (e.g., *dvér'–i, dver'-éj* [-ré-]), and some (5d) (e.g., *drov–á, dróv–∅*); cf. Bilodid 1969:121ff. This is evidently tantamount to specifying distinct declensional classes. But note that the pluralia tantum have no other specification of declension class. For the thousands of pluralizable count-nouns in the language, the individual plural paradigms can obviously be inferred from the primary declension class membership, for the Second and Third Declensions, additionally taking account of the noun's gender, and with regard to a limited number of exceptional nouns, as mentioned above, individual lexeme marking.

For a few handfuls of count nouns and pluralia tantum, such individual lexeme marking is required as well for the exceptional instrumental allomorphs *-–my* and *–yma* (e.g., *kin'–mý, pleč–ýma*).

Additionally, some stem allomorphy must be mentioned. Within the Plural Declension the most important is neo-apophony conditioned by the nonvocalic desinences of the genitive and, in a few nouns, the instrumental (e.g., *sl'óz–y, sl'íz–∅, sl'íz'–my*); and a few nouns have a derived stem allomorph for the plural paradigm that differs from the singular stem by its final consonant (e.g., *drúh–∅, drúz'–i; ók–o, óč–i; ím-en'–i, im-en–á*) or by a stem suffix, omitted, added, or replaced (e.g., *kúr-k–a, kúr–y; sel'-an-ýn–∅, sel'-án–y; néb–o, neb-es–á; d'ívč-yn–a, d'ivč-át–a*).

6. The traditional presentation of nominal morphology in Ukrainian grammars divides the substantives into four declensions, each comprising singular and plural forms, and an additional "half declension" for pluralia tantum; cf. (6a). I have argued here (1) that the singular paradigms of the traditional Third and Fourth Declensions should be described as variants of a single Third Declension, and (2) that all the plural paradigms of substantives should be described as variants of a fourth declension, the Plural Declension; cf. (6b).

(6a)

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Pl. t.
Sg.	Sg.	Sg.	Sg.	
Pl.	Pl.	Pl.	Pl.	Pl.

(6b)

First	Second	Third	Plural
Non-N Sg.	Non-F Sg.	Non-M Sg.	M-F-N Pl.

Any purely synchronic approach to the substantival inflection of this language must recognize that the first concern in defining its declension classes is to determine the right relationship between arbitrary and gender-conditioned paradigms.

Simovyč (1919) distinguished a Masculine Declension with variants in *–∅* and *–o,* a Feminine Declension with variants in *–a* and *–∅,* and a Neuter Declension with variants in *–o, –e,* and *–a* as well as the *tel'–á* and *im-j–á* types; cf. (6c). Thus his Feminine Declension included masculines (in *–a*) with feminines of two distinct arbitrary classes (in *–a* and *–∅*), and his Neuter Declension comprised neuters of two distinct arbitrary classes, one of them practically with the same endings as his Masculine Declension. Each of his twenty-odd paradigms included both singular and plural forms.

(6c)

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
stil–∅ (II) báťk–o (II)	rik–á (I) nič–∅ (III)	remesl–ó (II) tel'–á (III) imj–á (III)

(6d)

First	Second	Third
M: stil–∅ (II) N: remesl–ó (II) F: rik–á (I)	tel' –á (III) imj-á (III)	nič–∅ (III)

Synjavs'kyj (1941) (followed by Šerex 1951 and Rudnyc'kyj 1964), distinguished "Masculine", "Feminine", and "Neuter" subtypes of a single "First Declension," segregating the neuters of the *tel'–á* and *im-j–á* types into a "Second Declension," and the feminines with NS *–∅* into a "Third Declension"; cf. (6d). Here too, the "Feminine" sub-declension included both feminines and masculines, and the obvious similarities between the "Masculine" and "Neuter"

sub-declensions and between the "Second" and "Third" declensions went unacknowledged.

The Academy Grammar's traditional description of substantival declension acknowledges that the modern First and Second Declensions are first and foremost arbitrary morphophonemic paradigms, and that in one of them, the traditional Second Declension, gender plays a role in conditioning allomorph selection.

In this study, the insight that the arbitrary membership in declension classes ranks above gender in the assignment of case desinences (as in the Academy Grammar's Second Declension) has been extended to the description of the traditional Third and Fourth Declensions, allowing us to join together what there is no need to separate.

But the basis for this move is not just an abstract correlation between the alleged declension types and genders, but the observable, extensive identity of the two paradigms in the definite cases (genitive, locative, and dative) and the additional fact that the differences between their gender-specific desinences in the indefinite cases (nominative and instrumental) mirror differences that can be observed also in the First and Second Declensions.

Likewise in the case of the Plural Declension. Here generations of grammarians have routinely joined plural paradigms to singular paradigms, against a professed understanding of declension as inflection specifically for case—and against the evidence of the pluralia tantum, which show that the plural declension is independent of the singular. If one focuses on the similarities among the grammatical tradition's distinct plural paradigms, it is hard to miss the fact that they are identical in the peripheral cases (locative, dative, and instrumental), and that the differences among the plural nominative, accusative, and genitive desinences are no greater than between the masculine and neuter paradigm variants of the Second Declension—with which, incidentally, the Plural Declension variants share the primary expression of animacy, syncretism of the accusative with the genitive or nominative, and a fairly consistent differentiation of neuter and non-neuter nominative endings.

The approach followed in this study has been purely synchronic and simply aimed at uncovering whatever relations of conditioning need to be recognized in a description of the contemporary system of substantival inflection. Where this approach yields different results from the traditional description, this is due primarily to a closer attention to the similarities and differences among desinences and among the paradigms they form. The basis for this is the belief that there is a strong tendency in languages for sound to reflect meaning, and that hence an analysis of the relations among elements of expression may yield insight into the organization of the corresponding elements of content (cf. Jakobson 1958, 1965).

There is no guarantee that this belief will not be disappointed by some language data. But in this study it has allowed us to arrive at a description of Ukrainian substantival declension which, if one reviews it in a diachronic

perspective, is in complete accord with the history of the language. In a sense, in fact, our description does little more than catch up with what speakers of the language must have known implicitly for several hundred years.

The unification of the school grammars' Third and Fourth Declensions proposed here (section 4) simply takes the consequences of the centuries-long, gradual convergence of these two paradigms, not yet completed in all Ukrainian dialects in this century, but attested since the 1300s, as the historical grammars note (in separate chapters devoted to these originally different declensions; cf. Samijlenko 1978:112ff., 118ff.). Similarly, our unification of the plural paradigms (section 5) can surely be understood as a long overdue recognition of the result of the historical development, attested since the 1200s and largely completed by the 1700s, through which the Old Ukrainian plural paradigm variants merged into one single paradigm (cf. Andersen 1969)—in the historical grammars artificially compartmentalized according to the Old Ukrainian declensional classes (cf. Samijlenko 1978:50, 61ff., 85ff., 105ff., 116ff., 124ff., 127f.).

This diachronic corroboration of the synchronic description, of course, is not necessary to validate it. But when it is available, the diachronic perspective is always interesting to consider. For where it is at variance with a synchronic description, it may raise interesting questions about the way the data were interpreted or about the theoretical premises on which the interpretation was based. And where the diachronic perspective agrees with an independently established synchronic description, it may add some weight to it. As acknowledged at the beginning of this paper, synchronic and diachronic investigations are indeed undertaken with distinct purposes in mind. But no purpose is served by denying the unity of our object of investigation, and in the final analysis the different accounts have to be reconciled.

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NOTES

1. In the following, all Ukrainian language forms in phonetic transcription will be enclosed in square brackets; forms in phonemic notation will be cited in italics without the usual slants, but slants will enclose individual phonemes. Forms in Ukrainian orthography occur, transliterated, only in the references.

2. Simply to conserve space, I limit the discussion to the case paradigms proper, omitting the vocative forms. Inclusion of these would not change any of the points I wish to make. The names of the cases and numbers will be abbreviated as follows: nominative—N, accusative—A, genitive—G, locative (= prepositional)—L, dative—D, instrumental—I, singular—S, plural—P.

3. Sharped consonants are represented by plain consonants before /e/ (and before /y/), except at certain morphosyntactic boundaries, which will not be touched on here; thus, e.g., *prác'–eju* → [práceju]. This rule is applicable also to forms cited in subsequent sections, but will not be repeated there; instead, the relevant segments of such forms will be cited in phonetic transcription.

4. Clusters of consonant + /j/ are subject to a number of well-known phonological rules which (roughly speaking) assign sharping to coronal consonants before /j/ and replace /j/ by a copy of the preceding consonant (*za-poríž-j–a* → [zapor'íž'ž'a]) or by zero (*pid-zámč-j–a* → [pidzámč'a]) depending on the preceding environment and/or the following environment (*znán-j–∅* → [znán']). Although these phonological rules are losing their generality and may be suspended in certain neologisms, there is as yet no reason to forgo the generalizations they allow in the description of inflection (*pace* Popova 1987).

5. The valuable monograph by Vyxovanec' (1987) does not exploit these obvious isomorphic relations, which highlight the contrast between indefinite and definite cases (cf. Jakobson [1958] 1971), but confirms that these relations are as important to the Ukrainian case system as they are to that of Russian.

6. This is the interpretation of Simovyč (1919:144); see below.

7. There are two kinds of exception to the desinence-initial /y/ ~ /i/ alternation. (i) There are a few stems, such as those mentioned here, which select *–i* despite a lack of phonological conditioning. And (ii) there are a few that select *–y* despite having the appearance of the phonological conditioning for *–i*, for instance nominatives plural such as *d'ít'–y* [-ty], cf. *d'ít' –ax, d'ít'–am, d'it'–mý*. Exceptions of the latter kind can be construed as having a stem-final alternation, with a plain consonant conditioning the *–y;* stem-final alternations of plain and sharped consonants occur elsewhere as well; cf. the alternation in such forms as GS *ím-en'–i*, NP *im-en–á*. But, alternatively, it may be simpler to describe such forms as exceptions to the /y/ ~ /i/ alternation: before the desinence initial /y/ the stem final sharped consonant will then be represented by its plain counterpart, according to the same phonological rule that was mentioned in note 4, i.e., *d'ít'–y* → [d'íty].

8. I hope to return to this question in a future study.

9. In the instrumental, the interfix *-en'–* may be replaced with *-j–* or retained; desinence selection varies according to this choice, e.g., *ím-en'–em* [-ne-], respectively *im-j–ám.*

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